

LIB. G. K. V. VOL. 34 1956



JOHN AND JANE
STORY

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पुस्तकालय



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JOURNAL of INDIAN HISTORY

Vol. XXXIV, Part II

August 1956

Serial No. 101

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JOURNAL OF INDIAN HISTORY

PUBLISHED THREE TIMES A YEAR

April, August, and December

Annual subscription : Rs. 10, or by cheque Rs. 10-8 inland ; and 16s. abroad.

Advertisement charges :

Full page cover : Rs. 15 or £1 Half page cover : Rs. 8 or 12s.
Full page inside : Rs. 10 or 14s. Half page inside : Rs. 6 or 8s.

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JOURNAL *of* INDIAN HISTORY



110039

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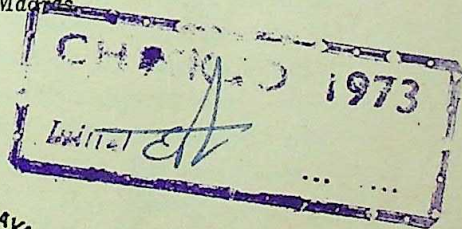
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पुस्तकालय
गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय
हरिद्वार

Johan van Twist's Mission to Bijapur,¹ 1637

BY

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Government of Bombay.*

The Dutch nation entered the profitable commerce of India in the beginning of the seventeenth century. They acquired a foothold on the Coromandel coast and obtained many concessions from the Sultans of Golconda. They were also keen on getting a place on the Western or Malabar coast and soon after their arrival in India, they began negotiations with the Zamorin of Calicut, with the Adilshah of Bijapur and with the Mughal Emperor who controlled the rising port of Surat. Their rivalry with the Portuguese and their sworn enmity towards that nation prompted them to send annual fleets from their base at Batavia to blockade Goa and to attack Portuguese shipping. In pursuance of this policy the Dutch sent a fleet from Batavia to the Malabar coast on August 26, 1636. But it was not till October 21 that it could arrive at Cochin.

"We anchored in seven fathoms of water. Here we saw nothing of any of the enemy's vessels, but we heard that till that date no Portuguese caraks had been seen on the coast, and that light galleons had been spending the winter at Bombay, which news made us hasten to reach Goa, in order to prevent our valiant enemy from entering the port and, if possible, engage with him in the battle. In passing Monsedelly² we took in 285 barrels of fresh water and 32 head of cattle and other provisions."

The Dutch fleet consisting of seven ships anchored off Goa on November 9, 1636. "We sailed up the bay as near as we safely could to the castles, arranged our ships in a crescent with a fair distance between each, so that the bay was entirely shut in and no vessels could enter or leave it. If our enemy decided to make

1. See Journal of Indian History, XXXIII, 2 and footnote 6,

2. Mount Dolly, 12° 2' N., 75° 15' E.

an assault we should be obliged to retire further from their forts. We were also convinced that our enemy would not go to sleep and prevent us from getting fresh water and provisions, the more so, as the Viceroy began to understand that we meant to remain here for the whole summer according to our instructions. "The Egmond" and "Cleyne Hollandie" were told off to run along the north side of the Bay and find a suitable place to take in a provision of fresh water. They discovered a small village where excellent water was obtainable, as well as other provisions and fresh meat and fruit. The name of this little village is Wyngurla, and belongs to the King of Visiapour. Our enemies therefore cannot interfere. The people seemed very friendly to us, and we managed through them to obtain information as to what was going on in Goa. The village is only six miles from that port and the people, who are mostly dyers, have been the means of keeping our crews in such excellent health, and enable them to fight our valiant enemy, who kept boasting that he would drive us away, even should it cost them the whole of India. We kept watch day and night as the enemy seemed fully prepared to attack us. We kept at a sufficient distance from their fire, the enemy's vessels were protected by their forts."

But the Dutch were foiled in their plan of intercepting Portuguese ships arriving at Goa from Portugal. They had delayed their start from Batavia with the result "that the carak which was expected from Portugal had arrived in Goa on October 20th. We arrived 20 days later, and by that fact prize has escaped us. We think that if we could be early enough before Goa the assistance they are expecting from Portugal would be in great danger, either by our fleet making an attack, or by driving the enemy's vessels on shore. The jurisdiction of the Portuguese extends only 3 miles to the north of the Bay of Goa, where the dominions of the King of Bijapur begin. We are of opinion that the Portuguese would lose their goods and their trade on the coast of India be ruined.

The despatch³ quoted above makes clear Dutch aspirations. But the Dutch wanted to achieve something more than the mere discomfiture of the Portuguese; they wanted a share in the lucrative maritime trade of the Deccan and facilities to start a factory

3. Letter dated December 7th, 1637 from Commander Jacob Cooper to the Director of the Dutch East India Company. Letters, X, CCCXLII.

and some convenient trading centre and port. They had now discovered the possibilities of Vengurla both as a centre of trade and as a point from which to harass the Portuguese at Goa only a few miles down the coast. They had already fixed upon one of their officers, the upper merchant Johan van Twist, to go on a mission to Bijapur and they now enjoined on him to place before the Adilshah their request for trade concessions at Vengurla and other places and also possibly for permission to build a factory at some convenient place.

van Twist was given the status of an ambassador. He left the Dutch fleet before Goa on the last day of December, 1636 and "arrived safely in the roadstead before Dabul on the 7th January, and was well as cordially received by the Governor Pier Mamet (Pir Muhammad) and the Municipality."⁴ His arrival was promptly reported to Muhammad Adil Shah and a royal firman was received from Bijapur on the 27th January, 1637 which entitled van Twist to travel to the Adilshahi capital without let or hindrance. The envoy left Dabhol for Bijapur on the 30th January.

van Twist's arrival at Dabhol and his mission did not go unnoticed by the English merchants at Dabhol. The envoy had meetings with them and they promptly made a report of their activities to their principals. This report went by way of Persia to England. The English agents and factors in Persia in their letter dated July 18, 1637 to the Company state: "Further they (the English merchants at Dabhol) advise that January past there arrived in Dabull a Dutch ambassador (one Seignor Von Twiste) whose coming thither was partly to procure tradeing there, but chiefly to goe up to the Kinge of Dicann with an ambassadge from the Generall of the ten ships. What his business was they leave doubtfull; yet they saye reporte goeth he was to proffer the Dutch assistance unto the Kinge against Goa; which if the King will accept, and will the next yeare beseidge it with an armye by land, they will promise to assist by sea with 30 ships, which they intend then to have before Goa. This we think but braggs."⁵

During van Twist's stay at Dabhol from the 7th to 30th January, there arrived from Bijapur the envoy of the Sultan of

4. Dagh-Register, *JBHS* I, 2, 194-195.

5. *EFI*, 1637-1641, 23-24.

Malindi who was returning from the Adilshahi court to East Africa. With him van Twist sent a message to the Sultan of Malindi suggesting a triple alliance against the Portuguese. "We take this favourable opportunity to inform you about the laudable plan of our rulers which will not only benefit the said Royal Majesty of Visiapour but also your Majesty and all other monarchs; and we assure you . . . that if Your Majesty is willing to bring his fleet at sea and join our fleet, we shall appear with our ships in great number on the coast of India and before Goa, about nine months hence i.e. in the end of September or at the latest in the middle of October, and with your help and that of His Majesty of Visiapour we shall do as much harm as possible to the Portuguese at land and at sea."⁶

After leaving Dabhol van Twist travelled to Bijapur in stages by way of Chiplun, up the Kumbharli ghat to Karhad via Helwak, and then from Karhad to Bijapur by way of Islampur and Miraj. After leaving Miraj, van Twist met an interesting character, a Chilean named Adam Pulis who had deserted the Portuguese to enter Bijapur service. The envoy arrived at Bijapur on the 13th February and was granted the first royal audience by Muhammad Adil Shah on the 17th February. A second royal audience was granted on the 15th March. During this period van Twist and his party spent a pleasant time in the Adilshahi capital and many conferences were held between Mustafa Khan, the principal Adilshahi minister at Bijapur and van Twist which finally paved the way for the royal firmans granted to the ambassador.

van Twist and his party left Bijapur on the 20th March, 1637 and, travelling by way of Tikota, Raibagh, the Amboly ghat and Banda, arrived at Vengurla on the 28th March. They sailed from Vengurla on the 30th and joined the Dutch fleet before Goa the same day.

van Twist's log book of this mission which he maintained, from the day he arrived at Vengurla with the Dutch fleet till the day he joined that fleet again at Goa, is a very interesting document giving a glimpse of many persons and many happenings not found in Persian chronicles and other sources. He tells us, for

6. Dagh-Register, *loc. cit.*, 197. Nothing seems to have come of this proposed alliance, but it suggests how keen the Dutch were to harm Portuguese interests in Indian waters.

instance, of a painter-spy named Antonio de Witt whom he met in Bijapur. It is possible that he was one of the European artists who did the murals and decorations—now alas defaced—suggestive of so much European influence, on the walls in the Asar Mahal⁷ and in the water pavilion at Kumatgi.⁸ We also learn that the official languages for dealing with Europeans were Persian and Portuguese and guess that van Twist carried on his negotiations with the Bijapur courtiers with the help of interpreters who were mainly brahmins. We get a glimpse into Portuguese intrigues in Bijapur to discredit the Dutch and of Dutch professions of help to Bijapur to drive the Portuguese from Adilshahi territory. But there are so many other things that van Twist's journal tells us, and it is such a first hand source material that it is now given below in full:

Report from Chief Factor and Fiscal John van Twist, containing the principal events of his mission to the King of Visiapour, addressed to the Honourable and Valiant Jacob Cooper, Commander of the fleet of defence and of the Company's naval forces on the coast of India, in Surat and Persia. From January 1st to March 31st, 1637.

January 1st: Arrived with the ship Egmond and the yacht Voorburch in the roads of Wingurla.⁹ Go on land in company of Mr. Castel and others to enquire after the promised free pass. The Tanada¹⁰ (Governor) being ill the Dadapundi¹¹ sends his representative to say that the firman has not yet arrived. Owing to the fear of the Portuguese and their former threats the promise of free pass is revoked. In reply we make him understand that at present no other vessels are expected to arrive at Wingurla than

7. Cf. "From what can be seen they savour very strongly of western handicrafts; and, indeed in one instance, regular European wine glasses are represented. The paintings are thought to have been done by European artists in the employ of Sultan Muhammad, who, on their arrival in India, had little or no knowledge of eastern manners, customs or traditions, and had, therefore, to fall back upon western ideas, and adapt them, as far as possible, to suit their eastern environment." Cousens—*Bijapur and Its Architectural Remains*, 92. Cf. Kramrisch—*Survey of Painting in the Deccan*, 158.

8. Cf. Kramrisch, *loc. cit.*, 157, figure of a Western ambassador with considerable knowledge of Western painting.

9. Vengurla, 15° 52' N., 73° 38' E.

10. Thanadar. See Hobson-Jobson, 896.

11. I am unable to explain this word unless it stands for Dado Pandit which, in my opinion, most likely it does.

those sent for a supply of fresh water and that he might in the mean time send intelligence to his Majesty the King to quiet his fears in respect of the Portuguese. The Dadapundi inspects our vessels and goods. We make him a present of five pounds of nutmeg.

We despatched a letter to the Governor of Dabul and leave Wingurla. We pass a island of Quemados^{11a} four miles to the East and in the morning and at night see a pagoda at a distance of about three miles.

At $17\frac{1}{6}^{\circ}$ north latitude Ceitapur¹² about 5 miles away from us. We arrive at the bay of Sangesara.¹³ We proceed in the yacht and a large boat as far as a village called Wilnesser¹⁴ and are received by the natives with great show of kindness. They explained our request to the Governor who seemed very friendly and gave us much hope of success. The Tanada made us a present of three hens, a number of eggs and two jars of sury? This inlet Sangesara is situated at $17\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ north about 4 or 5 miles to the south of Dabul, and about 30 miles north of Goa. Put to sea again but the sea being very high, were obliged to drop the anchor again in the evening at about 2 miles south of Dabul.

We enter the harbour of Dabul¹⁵ and anchor our vessels at about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the town. We sent Chief Factor Floris van Castel on land who on his return reports that the Governor seemed pleased at our arrival and expects us.

The English merchant Mr. William Pitt¹⁶ having his office in Dabul informed us that the English vessels belonging to Sir William Courten and other private merchants having a warrant

11a. Ilheos Queimados or Burnt Islands, nine miles west-north-west of Vengurla. The Vengurla Rock lighthouse is in one of these rocky islands. See *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, X, Ratnagiri, 378. Cf. *Travels of Pietro della Valle* (Hakluyt), I, 153.

12. Jaytapur.

13. Mouth of the Shastri river.

14. Velneshwar.

15. Dabhol $17^{\circ} 35' N.$, $73^{\circ} 10' E.$ Places mentioned in footnotes 12 to 14 above can be easily identified on the coastline going north from Vengurla. Distances mentioned by van Twist in paragraph 3 above and elsewhere are not very accurate.

16. For Pitt, Courteen and Weddel see *EFI*, 1637-1641.

from the king of England were lying off Goa under command of Captain John Weddel, and Director Mr. Nathaniel Montague and other persons who had resided for many years in Gujarat. This gentleman was very anxious to know how we intended to act in regard of their vessels when laden with Portuguese goods. We gave but very vague replies, trying to strengthen him and others in the belief that we should treat them in the same way as we had done the Moorish vessel coming from Bengal.

We sail in the yacht Voorburch to very close up to the town of Dabul, where we find still as much as $2\frac{1}{2}$ fathom of water. The Moorish Governor gives us a kind reception and promises to inform His Majesty of our arrival.

No ambassadors are allowed to travel to Visiapour without the knowledge of the king.

We meet the Governor in the custom house and confer with him and the English resident on the position of the Dutch, English and Portuguese affairs.

The yacht Voorburch ordered to be cleansed and overhauled. The Portuguese caravan which had intended to run into Dabul was warned in time and passed the harbour in sight of the Egmond. The Governor sends two runners to Visiapour to inform the king of our arrival and mission and to request a free conduct. Were invited with the Englishman to the Moorish festival of Backrahied.¹⁷

The Governor expresses his displeasure because we had returned on board our vessels without his knowledge. We soon pacify him; he compares the kingdom of Visiapour to an enclosed wilderness where all wild animals must live in peace together.

He gives us one of the principal house of Dabul as a residence. We show the Governor samples of our merchandise. He buys between 100 and 150 maunds of nutmegs. But afterwards we cancel the bargain, as he demands Surat weight¹⁸ not willing to introduce wrong customs.

17. Most probably Ramzan-Id. In 1637 Bakri-Id was in April.

18. Fryer about 1675 reports that the Surat maund was heavier than the Rajapore maund. Fryer, *New Account*, II, 129.

The quartermaster of the Voorburch deserts his ship and takes service with the Portuguese or English. Mr. Floris van Castel and the skipper of the Egmond take leave of the Governor, who sends by them the subjoined letter to commander Cooper.

At the earnest request of the Governor we sell him a small quantity of spices and a piece of cloth for his own use at the usual price.

Powerful Captain Moor Lion of the Sea

(Commander Jacob Cooper)

Your kind letter has been handed to me by the honourable ambassador Johan van Twist. I thank you for the honour and friendship therein shown to me. I was pleased to hear that you had arrived with a large fleet against the Viceroy of Goa, knowing quite well that you are Lord and master not only of the sea but of the Portuguese both by water and by land. With regard to the ambassador you have sent, we have at length written to his Majesty and dispatched three messengers to convey our letter. We are now expecting his Majesty's reply and command to send your ambassador to his court with all due dignity and ceremony by which we hope to prove our affection to the Dutch nation, trusting that you will continue in the destruction of our mutual enemy and not rest till you have completely subdued them. We grant you your request for free trading in this place and the whole kingdom of Visiapour.¹⁹ You will be at liberty to buy and to sell as freely as in your own country, and we are only anxious to render you a service from our side. Should any opportunity offer you will find us always ready. God and Mahomet keep you in good health. In Dabul on the 19th of the month Sehabun in the year of Mahomet 1046 being A.D. January 16th, 1637.

Pirmaneth,²⁰ Governor of Dabul.

The yacht Voorburch joins the Egmond in the roads about 1¼ mile from the town. We go on board to dismiss the vessels.

19. The Governor of Dabhol seems to be taking too much on himself to guarantee free trade in the whole kingdom of Bijapur!

20. Pir Muhammad. He must have been appointed in charge of Dabhol in the beginning of 1636 in place of Agha Raza whom the English factors mention as being governor of Dabhol till then. Cf. *EFI*, 1637-1641, 149, 158.

We sent provisions by the Egmond^t for the fleet off Goa. A Portuguese Almadja²¹ with the king of Ormus on board, arrives at Chaul from Muscat on its way to Goa. We learn the death of the Captain General of Muscat, and the capture of a Portuguese vessel from Balsora by the Malabars. The Egmond^t and Voorburch leave Dabul to join the fleet at Goa. Information from Visiapour reports that the King of Persia intends to make war on the King of India, and place his nephew on the throne.²² With this object the great Mogul had requested the assistance of the King of Visiapour. We can scarcely credit this news and think it must have been invented by the King of Visiapour as an excuse for refusing to join us against the Portuguese.

The King of Ormus and a few Portuguese are invited to a banquet at the house of the Governor.

The Portuguese merchant (factor) residing in Dabul requests permission to leave the town, which is granted.

The King of Ormus continues his voyage to Goa.

The Ambassador from the King of Melinda²³ calls upon us, and requests an answer to a letter written by his Majesty to the General of our fleet at Surat, and which he alleges having delivered to our Chief Factor Barent Pietersz about two years ago in this very place. In this letter his Majesty expressed his friendly feelings towards the Dutch nation and offers his assistance against the Portuguese. The Ambassador discusses at length the intentions of the Governor-General and Council for India. We repeat our offer of assistance and request that his Majesty will send next year his fustas and other vessels to Goa to combine with our fleet in cutting off all supplies to the town.

An express messenger sent with letters to Surat.

Jan: 22—Settle accounts with the Governor.

Jan: 23—The English vessel the Swan arrives from Surat which brings us news of the voyage of Commissary Arent Gardenys. He had been obliged by contrary winds to cross the

21. A Canoe. See *Almedia*, Hobson-Jobson, 15.

22. This is merely a fantastic rumour unsupported by facts.

23. Malindi, East Africa, 3° 9' S., 40° E. See *Melinde*, *Melinda*, Hobson-Jobson, 566-567.

straits of Manals. Near Goa he saw the Portuguese fleet who sent a Galley and several frigates to chase his vessels, but desisted from the pursuit without molestation.

The three English vessels and one yacht lying off Goa belong to private merchants and hold a warrant from the King. Their destination is China and Japan and the discovery of a passage home along the north of Russia through the straits of Waijety. They had stopped at Goa for the purpose of buying pepper and obtain a freight to Macau with an introduction to that place from the Viceroy.

The old English Company were very jealous of this new venture. The ship "the Swan" had been sent to Goa with the object of finding out the plans and doing of this new Company.

It was reported in Surat that the 50000 Real of²⁴ 8 which the English had deposited with the Portuguese for the delivery of pepper had been confiscated by the owners of the vessel from Mocha which had been plundered by pirates.

The English vessel "The Blessing" had been for the second time sent in search of the pirate.

After having been kept for three months in prison²⁵ the English President had been released on payment of 107000 rupees, and had been allowed to ship his goods in the usual way on the condition of his sending a vessel as convoy to the King's ship going to Mocha. Only one ship had arrived from England in Surat during the year.

The Company's affairs in Surat were pretty good. Provisions were plentiful and cheap but cloths and Indigo were kept at high prices. The Chief Factor Walschands Geleynsen had left for Agra.

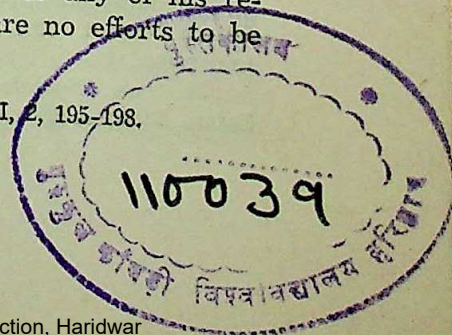
24. A spanish silver coin, imported into Asia by the Dutch and English and current along the sea-board. It was equal to about two rupees, the value actually depending on the weight and fineness of individual coins. See *Relations of Golconda*, 27., Peter Floris: *His Voyages*, etc., LXIX (both edited by Moreland and published by Hakluyt Society).

25. Cf. *EFI*, 1634-1636, XXI-XXIII, 190-192. Some Surat ships were attacked by English ships at this time, hence the reprisals against Methwold, President of the Surat Factory. The English ship "Blessing" was sent in search of the so-called pirate ships that had attacked Surat vessels.

Copy of letter written by Ramadhan, Ambassador of the King of Melinda to the Governor-General Anthonio van Diemen.

To the illustrious and powerful Lion of the Sea Mr. Anthonio van Diemen Governor-General for the Lords of Holland, whom God may preserve in the world for ever for the castigation and destruction of his enemies. Being at the present time in this port of Dabul, on my return journey from Visiapour, where I have been on a mission from the King of the Coast of Melinda, whose name is Sultan Mometh, my honored master, to his Excellency Adellscha King of Visiapour and entered with the said King into an alliance for my most gracious Majesty for the destruction of their mutual enemies, the Portuguese, and having about two years ago handed a letter from my Sovereign to Mr. Barent Pietersz who at present is Captain in Surat, to which no answer had been received, on the arrival of Mr. Johan van Twist the Ambassador from your Excellency. I called up him, and after having assured him of the friendly feelings of my Sovereign to the Dutch nation, requested an answer to the aforesaid letter. The honorable Ambassador has handed me a reply²⁶ to his Majesty, my gracious King, in which he offers in behalf of your Excellency, assistance against the Portuguese, with the request for his Majesty to send next year his armada to Goa and jointly attack the Portuguese. This letter I will carry with the utmost speed to his Majesty, who is at present with his fleet in the island of Joarma awaiting for the arrival of your Excellency's fleet from Holland to travel in his company to Surat trusting that when his Majesty shall have been apprised of the honorable proposal of the Ambassador, he will appear next season in person with his fleet before Goa and join the vessels of your Excellency for the destruction of the Portuguese, and subdue with the help of God, Mosambique and the entire coast of Melinda, and put those countries under the sway of your Excellency. We could suggest plenty of means for the realisation of this island, which we shall be pleased to do at a later period, when your Excellency shall have been convinced of his Majesty's good intentions by his prompt assistance with his armada and which we could discuss with your Excellency or any of his representatives. In the mean time we shall spare no efforts to be

26. It will be found in the Dag Register, JBHS, I, 2, 195-198.



of use or service to your Excellency. May God prolong the years of Your Excellency for the discomfiture of his enemies.

In Dabul the 28th day of the month of Subhan in the year of Mahomed 1046, which was January 25th A.D. 1637.

was signed

Criado Amov de Voche Excellency
Ramadhan.

January 26th. The English vessel "The Swan", leaves for Rasapour²⁷ for the shipment of pepper.

January 27th. Permission arrives from Visiapour for the journey to His Majesty.

January 30th. We leave Dabul.

Description—Dabul is situated at $17\frac{3}{4}^{\circ}$ north. Ships wishing to come close to the town must sail close along the south point. The best anchorage is farther out in 6 or 7 fathoms of water at about a mile from the town.

January 31st. We arrive at Chipelon,²⁸ 16 cos. from Dabul.

February 1st. Hire some oxen for the journey.

February 2nd. Leave Chipleon, Rest at Combaerli,²⁹ 6 cos.

February 3rd. Arrive to the top of the mountains of Balagatti to a village called Gatamatta³⁰ being a little over 3 cos. from Combaerli. A very bad road.

February 4th. Cross the Balagatti mountains and rest at Helewack³¹ at a distance of 3 cos. from the top, where the river Coyna passes.

27. Rajapur, $16^{\circ} 34' N.$, $73^{\circ} 31' E.$

28. Chiplun, $17^{\circ} 32' N.$, $73^{\circ} 31' E.$ Ratnagiri District.

29. Kumbharli, at the foot of the Sahyadri. The pass over the mountain connecting Dabhol and Chiplun on the coast with Karhad in the Deccan is named after the village and is known as Kumbharli Ghat or Pass. This is one of the oldest routes and is in use even to-day.

30. Ghatmatha (top of the ghat or pass) village in Patan taluka, North Satara District. The term Balaghat was generally used to indicate a mountain range.

31. van Twist is now passing through the present North and South Satara Districts by the old route to Karhad and Miraj.

February 5th. A robber called Hirrogy makes this neighbourhood very unsafe.

February 6th. Leave Weraed [Yerad], pass Belome, Suppana, Moral [Murud?] and arrive at the town of Tamba where we make a halt. Tamba is a large and populous city, built along a stream, which is an affluent of the Coyana.

February 7th. Resume our journey. After passing a small place called Poino, we arrive at a large and beautiful town called Karada Quilepour [Karhad] from thence to a village called Winge. Pass an old and decayed town Caliar, then through some more villages till we reach the town Issilampore.³² and Veron, where we have an altercation with the Sabaudar on account of the tolls.

February 9th. We pass the country which the great Mogul destroyed last year with his army. We rest at Miriagge.³³ At the South-western side of the town stands a large castle, which the great Mogul was unable to take. In Miriagie is a beautiful tomb of two Kings of Delhi.³⁴

February 10th. At Arug³⁵ we meet an Chilean pilot, called Adm. Pulis, who had been in the Netherlands and had embarked on a privateer in Flushing. He had arrived in India in 1629 with the former viceroy, but had fled from Goa after having killed his Captain. He held a warrant from the King of Visiapour, giving him leave to pirate the Portuguese ships. We make an offer to enter the service of the Company, which he politely refuses: but will give us his assistance, if our vessels were to remain the whole year on the coast of India and pass the winter in any of the ports. He informs us that Rasepour [Rajapur], a port about 18 miles to the south of Dabul, would be a suitable place for the vessels to remain during the winter.

February 11th. Travel 11 cos, about 6 Dutch miles.

32. 17° 2' N., 74° 20' E., Urun-Islampur. See *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, XIX, Satara, 597 et seq. Now South Satara District.

33. Miraj, 16° 49' N., 74° 41' E. An important provincial town of the Adilshahi Kingdom.

34. No king of Delhi is buried in Miraj. van Twist is evidently referring to the old dargahs of Mir Saheb and Shamsuddin Mir.

35. About 12 miles east of Miraj on the Miraj-Athani-Bijapur road.

February 12th. From Honnowar³⁶ we sent the servant of the Governor of Dabul with letters to Visiapour to acquaint the King with our arrival.

February 13th. We reach Visiapour. We are met by the Chief Magistrate³⁷ who takes us to the house of the Duke Mustafa-chān³⁸ to whom we deliver the letter from our Commanders and explain our mission. We request permission to visit His Majesty and present our letters and the gifts. His Highness shows himself pleased with our visit and enquires after our vessels, etc. Informs us that he had been apprised by letters from Wingurla that the Portuguese fleet in company of 4 English vessels had been out to sea but had returned again into port without having been engaged in battle. Apartments are prepared for us in the Duke's house where we are sumptuously entertained.

Thomas Trebecq, the escaped Englishman, who is in the service of the Duke requests an interview from us and offers us his services, which we gratefully accept.

February 14th. Had a long conversation with the Duke on the position of the Portuguese affairs. He sends his brother-in-law to the Court to inform His Majesty of our arrival. Two Portuguese musicians present themselves with their instruments to give us a concert at which the youngest son of the Duke assists.

February 15th. Am called privately in the Duke's chamber, to whom I make present of a portrait of the Prince of Orange. He enquires by what means it would be possible to capture Goa. He proposes that 3000 to 4000 men should be landed on the south side and at the same time the Duke's army should attack the town from the north. The king sends one of his courtier to know whether a house had been found for us and whether we had taken up our residence in it and what kind of presents or curiosities we had brought with us. We sent word in reply that on account of

36. Honvad, about 20 miles of Bijapur on the Athani road.

37. Kothwal of the capital.

38. Mustafa Khan who as Mir Muhammad Amin had arisen to eminence under Ibrahim Adil Shah II. The title Mustafa Khan was conferred on him by Muhammad Adil Shah soon after accession in 1627. Mustafa Khan was at this time, the chief grandee of the Adil Shahi court. See *Busatin-us-Salatin* (Hyderabad Lithograph), 283-284, 313.

the uncertainty of our mission taking place this year the Governor-General for India had not sent any presents. But the Commander of the fleet had sent a few things as a mark of esteem.

The Duke thought these gifts too paltry to offer to so powerful a king. He himself did not wish anything from us and we might rely on his desire to be of use to us. But the King ought to be treated with honour and his favour secured by suitable gifts. He advises us to buy a few trifles to offer to His Majesty to which we consented.

We are conducted to a house specially prepared for us.

February 16th. We forward to the Duke the invoices and price lists of the goods laden on the vessels. His Highness goes to court to see His Majesty but on his return alleges that he had had no opportunity for conversing with His Majesty on our affairs.

A certain Anthony de Wit³⁹ sends us a letter vilifying the Viceroy of Goa. We know that he enjoys a pension from the Viceroy. We sent him word that we did not want his services and that therefore he need not court disgrace with that object.

February 17th. Duke Mustafachan sends us two jewels which he wishes us to buy for the king and as we could not help ourselves we did so. He sent his brother-in-law to the palace to inform the king we were ready and requested an audience. Some courtiers conduct us to the king. We presented the letter⁴⁰ from the Honourable commander and the following gifts.

A jewel set with rubis and diamonds, two gilded mirrors, four large China dishes, 50 of cloves, 50 of mace, 75 of nutmeg. We explain the purpose of our mission.

After the letters had been read out to the king, His Majesty enquired after the health of the Governor-General and of the Commander of the fleet. He then asked if we had not other request. Thereupon we replied that we desired for trading with all the countries under his dominion, which he grants and orders a firman to be given to us. He presents a cloak of cloth of gold

39. This is the artist spy mentioned at p. 6 ante. See also footnotes 7 and 8.

40. This letter is given in full in the Dagh Register, JBHS, I, 2, 200-201.

to the ambassador. We sent a present to the Duke Mustafachan which His Highness would not accept until he had obtained permission from the king to do so. The king sends for his principal advisers to consult in the matter of our proposals.

We sent a present to the Duke of Cedarchan⁴¹ whom we visit at his house and to whom we deliver the letter from the honorable Commander. He replied that we had just come here at the right time in order to join with His Majesty the king in the war against the Portuguese. He asked us if we meant to capture Goa and if we could do this without any other assistance. We answered that our Governor-General did not care for the possession of the place, but that we wished to drive the Portuguese trade from there and take their vessels from them. However, should His Majesty bring his army by land and we our fleet by sea we were sure Goa would be soon in the hands of the king. He tells us that the king had referred the matter to the Duke Mustafachan whom he had commanded to arrange the same.

One of the Dutch prisoners named Pieter Schariassen⁴² from Amsterdam whose name had been altered in the Morish language to Abrahayam Aga comes to us begging to obtain his freedom for him or an increase of wages which we refuse for important reasons. We sent to Mustafachan to ask for an interview. On the 21st it was rumoured that the Portuguese armada had made an attack on our fleet. That two of the Dutch vessels had been sunk and the remaining fled. And as we were aware that this rumour was being spread by the Portuguese or their friends in town in order to prejudice the King's mind, and make our mission vain, I rode in the evening to the house of Duke Mustafachan and enquired whether he had received reliable information with regard to these statements. His Highness showed me a letter which he had received from Babechebo Mameth Regan,⁴³ Governor of Ditcauli,⁴⁴ which had been written at Wingurla, and in which it was stated that on the 24th of January last six galleons

41. Khizr Khan.

42. For a short account of this Dutchman see Dagh-Register, JBHS, I, 203.

43. Muhammad Raza. Babatheyb—I wonder whether this stands for Babasaheb. The Dagh Register is not very helpful and Adilshahi chronicles do not mention the name of this officer at all.

44. Bicholim or, as in Marathi, Dicholi, 15° 36' N., 74° E., adjoining the then Goa border.

and about 100 frigates had left Goa to do battle with our fleet. The engagement had lasted about 3 hours and the Portuguese had been obliged to return into port, two of their galleons had been so much damaged that they had to be towed back. His Highness gave us the letter to have it translated, and by publishing its contents contradict the lying rumours. It read as follows: A great battle has taken place between the Dutch and the Portuguese. Many Portuguese Hidalgos and other nobles were on board and six Commanders of the fleet consisting of 100 vessels well equipped and amply provided with guns and ammunition. They sailed close up to the Dutch. The Dutch sent three of their vessels against them and one as far as Cape Vecha.⁴⁵ Four Hidalgos and many other Portuguese were killed. They aimed principally at the masts of the Portuguese vessels. The 100 frigates soon sought refuge in flight. The galleons had nearly all their masts shot down. So that the Portuguese ran quite disheartened back into the harbour speedily pursued by the Dutch.

We explain to His Highness in what weight we will sell him our merchandise. He offers to sell us 20,000 pagodas worth of pepper at the price the English lately paid for it, which we refuse on account of its being too dear.

February 22nd. We attend a banquet at the house of the painter Antonio de Witt.⁴⁶ We send an agent to enquire into the current prices of all kinds of merchandise.

February 23rd. A servant from Saifacy,⁴⁷ King of Persia arrives at Visiapour from Golconda, and shows a letter of recommendation written by the English agent at Golconda to the commander of the English vessels at Dabhul.

We send a written request to Duke Mustafachan asking an interview in order to come to an arrangement about the sale of our merchandises either on exchange of pepper or for ready money. He puts us off till the next day.

45. Prof. George Moraes suggests this may be Arnala fort known to the Portuguese as Ilhas das Vaccas or the island of cows at the mouth of the Vaitarana, north of Bassein.

46. See footnote 39.

47. Shah Safi, 1629-1642, of the Safavi dynasty.

February 24th. We visit the Duke. We find him some what indisposed and give him some medicines. We explain the necessity of our leaving soon and the Duke being unwell refers us to his brother-in-law (Muqarrab) Careb the chief Chamberlain of the court. He again enquires into the object of our mission and asks if we intend establishing factories in the country. We answer that as yet we have received no orders to that effect, that we had come to ascertain whether we should be allowed free trading but that we probably might later on establish a factory for which Resapour seemed a very suitable port. The Duke said that we had full liberty to trade in all the places under his jurisdiction and that he had already given orders to his subordinate governors to treat us as friends and allies, but that if we wished to settle at Dabul, we must obtain a firman from the king. We accept the offer of his procuring this firman for us notwithstanding we know that the place is very unhealthy but it may be of use at some future time. He offers to take our merchandises in exchange of pepper, but we are unable to accept this offer on account of the delay it would cause in our leaving the place, unless it could be delivered at Wingurla. We propose a formal contract being made in writing, stating the terms on which the exchange of our goods for pepper would be effected. We are conducted through the principal parts of the town. We receive reliable information from Goa stating that the two fleet have been engaged in battle that Samuel Portuguese had been killed. Among others General Anthonio Tellis.

February 25th. The Chief Chamberlain enquires from the king what means we intended to use for the delivery of Goa into his hands to which we reply that we only had orders to offer His Majesty the assistance of our fleet at sea and that for this service we only demand free trading in his country without payment of any tolls or dues. His Majesty proposes that after the capture of Goa we shall fortify the place and keep garrison for protection against the Portuguese. We answered that we had no instructions to engage ourselves so far, but that we would bind ourselves so far that should His Majesty be willing to refund our expenses or allow us half of the receipts of the town we would keep garrison in the principal forts.

We ask permission to approach His Majesty on the next festival in order to do him reverence which he refuses on account

of the inconvenience it would cause among the large concourse of people.

February 26th. We visit Chepôur [Shahpur] one of the principal suburb of Visiapour. On our way we pass the palace where we saw the king sitting in public to be saluted by the people. In passing we and our suite made the usual signs of obeisance.

February 27th. The great nobles assemble in state in the palace to conduct the king to the temple but for some reason or other the king does not leave the castle. Duke Mustafachan promises to lay our request before His Majesty and expects us next day at his house.

February 28th. Duke informs us that the King has fully granted our request and desired us to draw up a written petition in answer to which the firmans should be worded.

March 1st. Have made a petition to be drawn up in the Portuguese and Persian languages and to be translated by the interpreter who translates and the correspondence from the Viceroy of Goa to His Majesty. But before it could be handed to Duke Mustafachan owing to the non-appearance of the scribe His Highness left for his harem. He enjoined us to warn the interpreter against divulging any of the contents of the writings under penalty of losing his place and his life. His Highness added that these Brahmins had their friends in Goa and that they probably were in the pay of the Portuguese.

Text of the petition—

• John van Twist, ambassador from the Dutch who has come to this country with the desire to serve your Highness proposes to come in the present year 1637 about the middle of September with a large fleet, well supplied with men and ammunition of war, before the bar of Goa, from whence he will send an express message to your Majesty to inform him of our arrival and to join us with a sufficient number of horse and foot for fighting the Portuguese and drive them from Goa, from Bardes and Esalet⁴⁸ and

48. Bardez and Salsette areas were wrested by the Portuguese from Ibrahim Adil Shah I of Bijapur in 1546. See Joshi "Relations between the Adilshahi Kingdom of Bijapur and the Portuguese at Goa, etc.," *New Indian Antiquary*, II, 364-365; Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, I, 475, 485.

to deliver these places to your Majesty's Governors and this having been accomplished your Majesty will give us two forts in those districts namely one at Bardes and the other at Salete with permission to keep a garrison in them on condition that your Majesty allow us half of the dues and tolls levied to those places for the pay of the said garrisons. In the same way as the king of Persia made a contract with the English after the taking of Ormus, so your Majesty will do with us after the capture of Goa giving us half of all that is taken with that port as money, gold, silver, merchandise, canons, artillery and other ammunitions of war, galleons, galleys, ships, yachts and any other vessel. For these our services we further beg your Majesty to give us a firman by which we shall be at liberty to bring our vessels freely to any port of your Majesty's dominions and to buy and sell and exchange our merchandise without let or hindrance or payment of any dues of tolls whatever, the same as we enjoy from the king of Persia, for which object we request your Majesty besides to send us a letter to our viceroy written in such terms as it customary among friends.

March 2nd. We deliver the petition to Mustafachan who promises to communicate with the king. He fears that the king will not consent to give us the forts as requested, but would be willing to dismantle and demolish them.

The Duke receives letters from Wingurla stating that the Portuguese armada had been withdrawn within Goa. In the last letter General Antonio Tellis and several nobles as well as a great number of common soldiers had been killed. The Portuguese for fear of the Dutch were said to have retired within the forts.

March 3rd. The Christian inhabitants of Visiapour spend the evening at our house whom we entertain in honour of the Carnival.⁴⁹

March 4th. The Duke goes to the palace accompanied by the ambassador⁵⁰ of the Great Mogul.

March 5th. The Duke informs us that the king has consented to our petition except to that clause in which we stipulated the

49. This was possibly connected with the beginning of Lent.

50. This must be one of the envoys of Shah Jahan who had come to Bijapur in connection with the treaty of 1636.

delivery of the two forts. The king seemed to be afraid of us making peace with the Portuguese, and combining against him. We replied that His Majesty could be assured that it was more likely we should touch the sin with our hands than that the Dutch should ever make peace with the⁵¹ Portuguese. The Duke wishes the commander to be informed of His Majesty's resolution which we represent to him, would have been done before had we not been kept waiting for an answer to his letters. He charges his Secretary to have the letters ready by the next morning. We visit the tomb of the late king with an escort of horsemen.

March 6th. Veadorda Fasendes who had been taken prisoner by the Portuguese comes from Resapour to lay his case before the king and beg his intercession for his release and restitution of his property. He is an old and rich merchant who had taken up his residence in Goa. The king assigns him to Duke Cederan (Khizr Khan) to be taken care of.

March 7th. We despatch our letters to Wingurla to inform the Commander of our doings and speedy return, to which are added the firmans of Mustafchan, who commands all his governors to treat the Dutch with complaisance and friendliness.

March 8th. We have an attack of illness caused by drinking cold milk. Duke Mustafchan sends us fruits and offers to procure us anything we might like. He rides to the palace to inform the king of our being indisposed. On his return he writes the letters with his own hand.

March 9th. We call upon the Duke, who tells us that viceroy had sent an ambassador to Mometh Regan in Diteauli complaining of the king having made an alliance with the Dutch. To which the said Babatheyho had answered that unless the Portuguese gave satisfaction to the king for the detention and killing of his subjects, His Majesty would join the Dutch in making war upon them.

His Highness proposes that we should leave a Dutchman at the court, we refuse to do so on the plea that we had no instructions to that effect, but promised that we should submit the matter

51. The Dutch did make peace with the Portuguese in 1641. See Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, II, 273-275. See also Joshi, "Muhammad Adil Shah and the Portuguese", *Journal of Indian History*, XXXIII, 1-10.



to our superiors. We again request permission to depart which is fixed at five days from today. The Duke will give us an escort of 100 horsemen, on account of a probable attack from the Portuguese. He warns us against Anthoneo de Witt who keeps them informed of everything which happens.

March 10th. The Duke sends one of his men to guide us to some of the pleasure gardens outside the town. The gate-keepers will not let us pass the gates for which act they are severely reprimanded.

March 11th. The Gentiles celebrate their festival called Ouly⁵² Strange customs of the queen and her ladies in waiting at that occasion. The Duke Mustafchan and the nobles attend at court to salute His Majesty.

March 12th. We call upon the Duke who is very unwell and request us to send for one of the surgeons on board our fleet to attend his family promising to treat him well, in fact as his own son and would be for ever grateful to us. We promised that as soon we should have joined the fleet we would lay the Duke's request before our commander and that no doubt a surgeon would be sent to attend to his case, but that it was against our laws to force any subject to enter the service of any foreign prince against their will, that however we were sure that there would be among the barbers aboard our vessels, some who would be willing to accept the post. We then requested the release of a certain Pieter Sachariassen who had been a prisoner for 17 years at Visiapour. The Duke assented, giving him perfect liberty to go or to stay according to his wish. The Duke handed in the firman⁵³ written by His Majesty to the honourable Governor-General to be translated in Portuguese.

March 13th. We write to the Duke requesting again permission to depart. The Duke sends word that the king will have the despatches ready by tomorrow.

March 14th. We draw Mustafchan's attention to the fact that in the firman no mention had been made of the division of all the

52. Holi (the full moon of Phalgun, Shaké 1559), still an important festival.

53. The Dagh Register gives this firman in full. *JBHS*, I, 193.

property found at Goa. He replies that this was understood by half of the revenues besides that in the original Persian it was clearly so expressed. The Duke receives letters from Dabul in which Governor Pier Manath earnestly insists on raising the tolls on English goods.

March 15th. An escort of horsemen are ordered to conduct us to the palace. We are led in the presence of His Majesty. The king enquires as to the number of vessels which would be sent to Goa. We reply that this would depend on the number sent from home, but that his majesty could be sure that we should send a formidable force and that we should inform His Majesty in good time by way of Coromandel or Wingurla. We present him with two pistols which he loads and discharges several times. The king repeats his willingness to make war upon the Portuguese on condition that we also keep our word and never make our peace with them. We offer to remain as hostages to prove our sincerity where upon the king hands us the firman, observing all the usual ceremonies. A cloak of cloth of gold is thrown over our shoulders the king serves us with betel with his own hands, he blesses us, and lays his hands upon my head. He sends an Arab horse to Mustafchan to be presented to us as his gift which Mustafchan transfers to us with certain ceremonies.

March 16th. We are shown a letter from the ambassador in Goa in which contains a detailed description of the battle between the Dutch and the Portuguese. It states that the viceroy is very displeased at the king having admitted the Dutch into his country and the alliance made with the Dutch ambassador. The viceroy offers to renew his alliance with the king of Visiapour and proposes to send his armada to Dabul or other ports with the object of plundering these places if the king refuses. The Duke states that the war with the Portuguese had practically commenced, that their agent in Dabul had been taken into custody and that he would not be released until His Majesty's ambassador, on his return from Goa, would show that the king had received ample satisfaction from the Portuguese. The Duke again asks what amount of naval force we intend sending in the autumn. We promise to inform him at the earliest date. He again expressed his apprehension that we should withdraw our promise, which we endeavour to explain to him would be against our interests. We ask permission to convey the wife of the Dutch (Pieter Sachariassen) prisoner

to Wingurla, which is refused. Our departure is fixed for the next day. The Duke orders 100 horsemen to conduct us on the way.

March 17th. The nobles go to court in state to receive the presents sent to His Majesty of Visiapour by the king of Golconda. The Duke hands us the king's firmans and despatches and some letters to the Subaltern governors at Dabul, Cauly (Dicholi) and Wingurla. The release of the Dutch prisoner is again mentioned. The Duke asks if on his arrival at Batavia he will not be punished on account of his having changed his religion to which we reply that the inquisition does not exist with us as with the Portuguese and that for this very matter we had in the first place gone to war with them. The Duke says that the man may go or stay as he pleases, but that the laws of the country forbid the women from leaving their native land. It is settled that Pieter Sachariassen will for the present remain at Visiapour to serve as interpreter between the Duke and the surgeon, but he will accompany us to Wingurla to report to the commander of the fleet. We are informed that the king had refused to receive an ambassador from the viceroy Pedro de Silva. The Duke asks if there would be no means of keeping small vessels in the port of Goa to prevent the caravans from reaching the place. We answer that frigates would be useful for that purpose and he promises to hire 30 frigates ready to join our fleet. He also suggests that we should ask the Malabaris to furnish small crafts and that we should make peace with the king of Cananore. We promise to submit all these proposals to our superiors. The Duke presents us with a cloak of gold and a horse splendidly caparisoned. We take final leave with many assurances of friendship and regard on both sides.

Text of two firmans sent to Mometh Raja Governor of Ponda and Curalh [Dicholi] and to Mr. Piermanath, Governor of Dabul for the greater security of the Dutch.

John van Twixt, ambassador of the Dutch has requested of me one of these firmans, as a security, that the Dutch coming with their vessels in any port of my dominions, you will assist them in any way and show them favour, allowing them to settle in suitable places for their trading, and treating them with the greatest honour and civility, for I am very pleased with them and have sent a free conduct with them through the length of my dominions giving

them freedom to buy and sell according as they may think expedient without any one having the right to oppose them or offer them molestation.

Text of a firman from Duke Mustafchan to Mahomed Raja, Governor of Ponda and Curalh [Dichodi] given at the request of Joan van Twist ambassador from Holland.

Johan van Twist, ambassador from the Dutch has requested of me this firman for his security. Wherefore I command you that you will show him all favour and as soon as he shall have arrived at the head of Galle, you will send some soldiers with him to conduct him to his vessels with his suite, and no man shall be allowed to require anything from him.

March 19th. We are again delayed through the non-appearance of the oxen. Duke Mustafchan expresses a wish for some fire arms which we promise to send him.

March 20th. We leave Visiapour. Pass Serrapour and Neuraspour⁵⁴ arrive at Tichota⁵⁵ about 6 kos from Visiapour, send an express messenger to Wingurla to advise of our arrival.

Description of Visiapour. The town extends about 5 miles it is surrounded by high walls and deep trenches, 1000 iron and metal guns serve for its defence. The castle is in the centre of the town, containing the court of the king, it has a circumference of 3050 feet, it has one single entrance, containing five massive gates, with a guard of 2000 soldiers. The captain of the castle and the town is called Mammoth Chan and has 5000 soldiers under his command. The town has five gates with suburbs outside. The last gate is called Sahapour, 2nd Gurapour, 3rd Abrahimpour, 4th Alapour, 5th Bomenali.⁵⁶ The late king used to keep his court at Neuraspour one of the suburbs of Visiapour.

March 22nd. We leave Tichota, pass Honaver, Tulsangi (Télsang), Aggar (Aigali) and stop at Bardgir (Badehi).

54. Zohrapur, a suburb of Bijapur, just outside the city wall in the same direction. Here Ibrahim Adil Shah II built palaces and projected a new city about the close of the sixteenth century.

55. Tikota, on the Athani road by which van Twist came to Bijapur.

56. The gates are Shahapur, Zohrapur, Ibrahimpur (now known as Fateh gate), Allahpur and Bahmani. The last one is locally called Bambal gate.

March 22nd. We resumed our journey, pass Atheny,⁵⁷ Tangly (Tangdi) and Every, cross the river Aggery (Agarni). We come to Katema and spend the night at Eynapour (Ainapur).

March 23rd. We leave Eynapour, cross the rivers Gimma and Cirstna water the kingdom of Visiapour and Mesulipatam. We ride through the villages Colhesy (Kudchi) and Ouger (Ugar) and the town of Golheny and cross the river Cagni. We assist at the wedding ceremony of the son of a rich merchant at Raja-baogh.⁵⁸ This place has a large fortified castle, which belongs to the princess of Golconda, the wife of the king of Visiapour.⁵⁹

March 24th. We enter into a contract with the above mentioned bamen merchant for the delivery of a certain amount of goods yearly. We give him a free pass for a vessel he intends to send to Persia. We promise to send him word in good time of our proposed return in the autumn. We leave Rajabaogh pass a magnificent temple (Hindoo) and reach at nightfall the town of Kerebus (Kharoshi?).

March 25th. We travel all day.

March 26th. Arrive at Ambaly a village at the foot of the Balagat mountains. We cross the mountains and stop at Banda,⁶⁰ Mameth Raja invites us to his castle at Condal,⁶¹ which invitation we do not accept.

March 28th. We start from Banda and arrive at Wingurla. There is a great trade between Banda and Goa.

March 29th. The "Egmont" and "Zeepaert" and the yac lits "Hollandia" and "Voorburch" arrive in the roads of Wingurla.

57. Up to Athani van Twist is on the same road by which he came to Bijapur. At Athani he turns south-west towards Ainapur and then mainly south towards Raibagh.

58. Raybag, 16° 30' N., 74° 52' E. A very prosperous business centre under the Adilshahis.

59. Muhammad Adilshah married a sister of Abdulla Qutb Shah of Golconda about 1633.

60. van Twist must have taken Ajra route from Raybag and gone down the Amboli ghat to Banda from Amboly village. Banda was an important Adilshahi centre.

61. Kudal, now the headquarters of a Taluka in Ratnagiri District.

Mameth Raja asks for a four pieces of cloth and wishes us to remain till he can come down to escort us.

March 30th. The vessels store in water.

March 30th. Sailed from Wingurla and join the fleet at Goa.

Bibliographical Note

References have been quoted in full in the footnotes wherever necessary and no separate bibliography of books and material consulted has been given. JBHS. stands for Journal of the Bombay Historical Society and EFI for English Factories in India.

van Twist's Report is item CCCXLIV in volume X of "Letters" mentioned in the Bibliographical Note to my previous paper in volume XXXIII Part I of this Journal. Letter mentioned in footnote 3 of the present paper also comes from the same volume of "Letters."

The dates given by van Twist, as all dates in Dutch documents, are according to the New Style. The date July 18, 1637 of the letter of the English Factors, mentioned in footnote 5, is according to the Old Style which continued to remain in use in England till 1752. To arrive at New Style dates it is necessary to add 11 to Old Style dates.



Buddha's Activities in Kasi-Kosala

BY

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The Buddha delivered many religious discourses in Kāśī and Kośala. In his time Kāśī lost its political power. It was incorporated into the Kosalan kingdom for sometime and for sometime into the Magadhan kingdom. It was finally conquered and incorporated into the Magadhan kingdom. Vārāṇasī was the capital of the people of Kāśī. It was known by various other names viz., Surundhana Sudassana, Brahmavaḍḍhana, Pupphvatī, Ramma, and Molinī. It was also known as Kāśīnagara and Kāśīpura (*Jātaka*, IV, 15, 119-20; *Jāt.* V. 54; VI. 115; *Dhammapada Commentary*, I, 87). It is said to have been situated on the bank of the river Varanā (*Mahāvastu* III, 402). The Buddha gave his first discourse on the *Dhammacakka* or the wheel of law in the deer park at Isipatana near Benares (*Majjhima* I, 170 ff; *Samyutta* V, 420 ff; *Kathāvatthu* 97, 559; *Saundaranandakāvya*, III, vs. 10-11; *Buddhacarita*, XV. v. 87; *Lalitavistara*, 412-13). The Buddha spent a great part of his life at Kāśī and here he converted many people (*Vinaya texts*, SBE, I, 102-108, 110-112 etc.). According to the *Kūrmapurāṇa* (*Pūrvabhāga*, Ch. 30, 63) Kāśī or Vārāṇasī lies in the midst of the rivers Varanā and Asī. It is situated 80 miles below Allahabad on the north bank of the Ganges.

Kośala during the time of early Buddhism was an important kingdom. The ancient Kośala was divided into two divisions, the river Sarayū serving as the wedge between the two: that to the north was called Uttarakośala and one to the south was called Dakṣiṇakośala (R. L. Mitra, *Northern Buddhist Literature*, p. 20).

The Buddha spent much of his time at Śrāvastī, the capital of Kośala. He delivered a series of sermons at Śālā, a brahmin village of Kośala, and the brahmin householders there were converted to a new faith. The brahmins of Nagaravinda, another brahmin village of Kośala, were also converted by the Master. The brahmin householders of the brahmin village of Venāgapura, also accepted the Master's creed. The brahmin village of the Kosalans named

Icchānaṅgala was also visited by the Buddha. The Master also visited Sālavatikā and Manasākaṭa in the kingdom of Kośala. The Buddha once stayed among the Kosalans at the Butea grove (*Palā-savana*) of Naḷakapāna. The Master once dwelt at Paṅkadhā in the country of the Kosalans. The Pubbārāma and the Jetavanavihāra of Anāthapiṇḍika at Sāvattihī were the places frequented by the Master.

Sāvattihī (Skt. Śrāvastī) may be identified with modern Sāheṭh-Māheṭh. The entire site of Sāvattihī lies on the borders of Gonda and Bahraich districts of Oudh in the Uttarapradeśa and can be reached from the railway station of Balarāmapura. It can also be reached from Bahraich, which is at a distance of about 26 miles. The city of Sāvattihī was situated on the bank of the river Aciravatī (*Vinaya-mahāvagga*, pp. 190-91, 293; *Paramatthajotikā*, p. 511). The Jetavana and the Pubbārāma were the two well-known Buddhist establishments and influential centres of Buddhism, built in the Buddha's life-time, adjoining and to the south of the city of Sāvattihī.

In the following pages an attempt has been made to give a detailed account of the activities of the Buddha as a religious preacher in Kāśī and Kośala.

In course of conversation between the Buddha and the brahmin Lohicca, the Buddha pointed out that king Pasenadi of Kosala was in possession of Kāśī and Kosala. This fact was confirmed by Lohicca. The Buddha then said, "Suppose, one is to speak thus: King Pasenadi of Kosala is in possession of Kāśī and Kosala. Let him enjoy all the revenue and all the produce of Kāśī and Kosala, allowing nothing to anybody else. Would the utterer of that speech be a danger-maker?" Lohicca said that he would be a danger-maker, he would not be considering the welfare of those living in dependence on king Pasenadi of Kośala. And not considering their welfare his heart would stand fast in enmity. It would surely be an unsound doctrine, if one's heart stands fast in enmity. The Buddha said thus, "Now if a man holds unsound doctrine, I declare that one of two future births will be his lot, either purgatory or rebirth as an animal, (*nirayaṃ vā tiracchāṇayoniṃ vā*)."¹

1. *Dīgha*, I, 228-29.

The Exalted Buddha was in the habit of making declaration as to the rebirths of such followers of the doctrine as had passed away in death among the ancient Indian tribes including Kāsīs and Kosalas.² The Buddha's prediction about Kāsī or Vārāṇasī is found in the *Cakkavattīsihanāda Suttanta* of the *Dīgha-Nikāya* (Vol. III). The Buddha predicted that Vārāṇasī would be known as Ketumatī, which would be the capital of Jambudīpa, with Saṅkha as universal monarch, when the lease of human life would be 80,000 years (*asitvassasahassāyukesu manussesu*).³

Once the Buddha was moving about for alms with a big congregation of monks among the inhabitants of Kāsī. Gradually he proceeded towards the country named Kiṭāgiri, belonging to the inhabitants of Kāsī. The Master lived there. The two monks named Assaji and Punabbasuka were then living there. A number of monks informed them that the Buddha himself ate no meal at night and that the confraternity were doing the same. Assaji and Punabbasuka said that they took meals in the evening and early in the morning and at noon outside prescribed hours and found that on this regimen they were healthy and well, hale and hearty. The Buddha was informed of this and he sent for these two monks. They met the Master as desired. The Buddha admonished them to put implicit faith in his teachings. He said that he had the knowledge of what is to be eschewed. The Buddha further said, "Those monks who are Arahats, in whom the cankers are dead, who have greatly lived, whose task is done, who have shed their burden, who have won their weal, whose bonds are no more, who by utter knowledge have won deliverance—of such monks as these I do not aver that they need to toil on with diligence. And why?—because they have already achieved all that toil can achieve and now are incapable of slackness. But of those monks who are still under training and have not won their hearts' desire, but live in earnest yearning for that utter peace—of such monks as these I do aver that they need to toil on with diligence. And why?—I do so because the fruit of diligence which I can see for such monks is that in suitable surroundings with a picked circle of good friends and with faculties duly regulated, they will surely win that for the sake of which youngmen go forth from home to homelessness as

2. *Dīgha*, II, p. 200.

3. *Dīgha*, III, p. 75.

pilgrims, and will surely reach the goal of the higher life, discerning it, realising it, developing it and abiding therein."⁴

The five monks dwelling at Benares in the Isipatana deer-park (modern Sarnath), who served the Buddha so well in his struggles, were chosen to be the first learners of his doctrine. They addressed the Buddha by name and by the style of reverend. The Master said to them thus "monks! do not address the truth-finder by name or by style of reverend (*mā bhikkhave tathāgatam nāmena ca āvuso-vādena ca samudācarittha*). Arahat, all enlightened, is the truth-finder. The deathless has been won; I teach the doctrine; I preach it. Live up to what I enjoin and soon you will come to discern and realise, to enter on and to abide in that supreme goal of the higher life for the sake of which young men go forth from home to homelessness on pilgrimage." The five monks said thus, "Oh reverend Gotama, the life you led, the path you trod and the austerities you practised—all failed to make you transcend ordinary human scope and rise to special heights of discernment of the truly noble knowledge." The Buddha answered thus, "The deathless has been won by me. I preach the doctrine, I teach it. Live up to my teaching and you will soon realise the supreme goal of higher life." The Buddha succeeded in convincing the five monks. In course of receiving the Buddha's instruction the five monks being themselves subject to rebirth, decay, disease, death, sorrow, and impurity, saw peril in what is subject thereto and so they sought after the consummate peace of *nirvāṇa*, which knows neither rebirth nor decay, neither disease nor death, neither sorrow nor impurity. There arose in them the conviction, the insight that their deliverance was assured, that this was their last birth nor would they ever be reborn again (... *akuppā no vimutti, ayaṃ antimā jāti, natthi dāni punabbhavo*).⁵

At one time the Blessed One lived at Benares at the deer-park of Isipatana. He addressed the monks as follows: "It was here in this very deer-park at Benares that the truth-finder, Arahat, all-enlightened, set a-rolling the supreme wheel of the doctrine, announcing the four noble truths, teaching, declaring, and establishing those truths with their unfolding, exposition, and manifestation.

4. *Majjhima*, I, pp. 473-81.

5. *Majjhima*, I, pp. 170 ff.

What are these four noble truths? They are as follows: the announcement, teaching, manifestation, establishment, unfolding, exposition, etc., of the noble truth of suffering, of the origin of suffering, of the cessation of suffering, and of the path leading to the cessation of suffering. Follow Sāriputta and Moggallāna and be guided by them; they are wise helpers unto their fellows in the higher life. Like a mother is Sāriputta; like a child's wet-nurse is Moggallāna. Sāriputta trains in the fruits of conversion, Moggallāna trains in the highest good. Sāriputta is able to announce, teach and manifest the four noble truths in their details."⁶

At one time the Blessed One dwelt at the deer-park of Isipatana in Benares. He addressed the monks thus: "You must train yourselves: we will abandon the crookedness, faults and flaws of body, speech and thought. That is how you should train yourselves."⁷

The Blessed One dwelt at the deer-park of Isipatana at Benares. A number of Elders who had returned from alms-gathering sat together and the talk on the Way to the Beyond in the questions of Metteyya arose by chance. The Buddha said, "contact (*phassa*) is the first end, its arising is the second, its cessation is the middle and desire is the seamstress (*sibbanā*). Craving (*taṇhā*) sews a man just to this ever-becoming birth. O monks, it is to this extent that a monk knows the knowable, he comprehends the comprehensible, and knowing the knowable, comprehending the comprehensible, he makes an end of evil here now."⁸

The Buddha, while dwelling at the deer-park of Isipatana in Benares, spoke to the company of five monks, Kondañña, Vappa, Bāddiya, Mahānāma and Assaji,⁹ thus: "The two extremes should

6. *Majjhima*, III, p. 248—In the Theravāda and Sarvāstivāda doctrines the *ariyasaccas* or the four noble truths are regarded as the quintessence of Buddhism as propounded by the Master himself. All that was uttered by the Buddha from the day of his enlightenment to that of his great decease, all that he propounded in the form of a *sutta* or a *geyya* or a *vyākaraṇa* or a *gāthā* or an *udāna*, all fall within the scope of the four noble truths (Vide for details, *Law, Concepts of Buddhism*, Chap. IV).

7. *Āṅguttara*, I, pp. 110-13.

8. *Ibid.*, III, pp. 339-402—*Vuttaṃ idaṃ āvuso Bhagavatā pārāyane Metteyyapañhe*.

9. *Vinaya Texts*, S.B.E., I, p. 90; *Majjhima*, I, 170; *Ibid.*, II, p. 94; *Samyutta*, III, p. 66; *Lalitavistara*, 18th Ch. (Lefmann's Ed.), p. 264.

not be followed by one who has gone forth as a wanderer. They are as follows: devotion to the pleasures of sense, and devotion to self-mortification which is painful, unworthy and unprofitable. By avoiding these two extremes the Tathāgata has gained knowledge of the middle path which gives vision, which gives knowledge, which causes calm, special knowledge, enlightenment and *Nibbāna*. The middle path is the Ariyan eightfold path viz., right-view, right-aim, right-speech, right-action, right-living, right-effort, right-mindfulness and right-concentration.¹⁰ Birth is ill, decay is ill, sickness is ill, death is ill: likewise sorrow and grief, woe, lamentation and despair. To be conjoined with things which we dislike, to be separated from things which we like, that also is ill. Not to get what one wants, that also is ill. In a word, this body, this fivefold mass which is based on grasping—that is ill. It is that craving that leads back to birth, along with the lure and the lust that lingers longingly now here, now there, viz., the craving for sensual pleasure, the craving to be born again, the craving for existence to end. Verily it is the utter passionless cessation of, the giving up, the forsaking, the release from, the absence of longing for this craving. O monks, so long as my knowledge and insight of the thrice revolved twelve-fold Ariyan truths in their essential nature was not quite purified, so long there was one enlightened with supreme enlightenment. As soon as my knowledge and insight of the thrice revolved twelvefold Ariyan truths in their essential nature was quite purified, I was assured what it is to be enlightened with supreme enlightenment with regard to the world etc. Now knowledge and insight have arisen in me so that I know: sure is my heart's release. This is my last birth. There is no more becoming of me."¹¹ This was the first discourse of the Būd-dha, known as the Wheel of the Norm, which had the effect on Kondañña, the chief of the group of five monks. He became a saint (*Arahat*) immediately and the remaining four attained saintship very soon.

10. Law, *Concepts of Buddhism*, Chap. V—The noble eightfold path leaves out two important factors without which the Buddhist system of thought is incomplete, namely, *sammāñāṇa* and *sammāvimutti*, right knowledge and right emancipation.

11. *Samyutta*, V. pp. 420-24; Vide also *Majjhima*, I, 170 ff.; *Kathāvatthu*, p. 559; Law, *Indological studies*, II, pp. 31 ff.

The Buddha said: "The brahmin Pokkharasādi is in the enjoyment of a grant from king Pasenadi of Kosala, but the king does not allow him to come into his presence. When he consults with him, he speaks to him only from behind a curtain. How is it that the very king from whom he accepts this pure and lawful maintenance, king Pasenadi of Kosala, does not admit him to his presence? See, Ambaṭṭha, how deeply your teacher the brahmin Pokkharasādi has herein done you wrong."¹² Samaṇa Gotama was honoured and worshipped by king Pasenadi of Kosala.¹³

The brahmin messengers from Kosala approached the Buddha where he was, and exchanged with him the friendly greetings and compliments of politeness and courtesy and then took their seats on one side. The question of the ability to see heavenly sights and hear heavenly sounds was discussed. The Buddha said, "It is not for the sake of acquiring such powers that people join the Order under him." He gradually led the questioner on to saintship as the aim along the Eightfold path. The Buddha then raised the question whether the soul and the body (*jīva* and *saṃsāra*) are the same.¹⁴

At one time the Blessed One was moving among the Kosalans with a congregation of monks and he proceeded towards the brahmin village of the Kosalas named Iccānaṅkala (Icchānaṅgala). At that time the brahmin Pokkharasādi was dwelling at Ukkatṭha, a spot teeming with life, with much grassland and woodland and corn on a royal domain granted him by king Pasenadi of Kosala as a royal gift, with power over it as if he were the king.¹⁵ The brahmin Pokkharasādi had a young brahmin pupil named Ambaṭṭha. The subject of caste was discussed between the Buddha and Ambaṭṭha.¹⁶

At one time the Buddha, while moving among the Kosalans with a congregation of monks, proceeded towards Sālavatikā. At that time a brahmin named Lohicca was established at Sālavatikā, a spot, full of life, with much grassland and woodland and corn on

12. *Dīgha*, I, p. 103.

13. *Ibid.*, I, p. 133.

14. *Dīgha*, I, pp. 150 ff.

15. Cf. *Vinaya*, III, 222; *Divyāvadāna*, p. 620.

16. *Dīgha*, I, pp. 87 ff.

a royal domain granted him by king Pasenadi of Kosala as a royal gift, with power over it, as if he were the king. The Buddha went to the dwelling place of Lohicca the brahmin and sat down on the seat prepared for him. Lohicca satisfied the Order with the Buddha at its head with sweet food both hard and soft. When the Exalted Buddha finished his meal and cleansed the bowl and his hands, Lohicca brought a low seat and sat down beside him. The Lohicca sutta of the *Dīghanikāya* informs us that some points on the ethics of teachings were discussed between the Buddha and Lohicca and it enumerates three blameworthy teachers and blameless teachers. This sutta also lays stress on the duty of spreading the truth. Everyone should be allowed to learn and everyone having certain abilities should be allowed to teach. If he does teach, he should teach all and to all, keeping nothing back, shutting no one out. It appears from this that a teacher belonging to a higher caste would not refuse to teach anybody belonging to an inferior caste. But no man should take upon himself to teach others, unless and until he has first taught himself and has also acquired the faculty of imparting to others the truth he has learnt.¹⁷

Once the Blessed One was moving among the Kosalans with five hundred monks and proceeded towards the brahmin village of the Kosalans called Manasākaṭa. There the Blessed One dwelt in the mango-grove on the bank of the river Aciravatī (modern Rāpti) to the north of Manasākaṭa. The Exalted Buddha was an Arahāt, a fully Enlightened One, abounding in wisdom and goodness, happy, knower of the world, excellent guide to mortals, a teacher of gods and men, an Exalted One and a Blessed One. This was the high reputation of the venerable Gotama that was noised abroad. There was a conversation between the young brahmin Vāseṭṭha and the Buddha. The Buddha criticised the positions of the brahmins who based their religious life on the system of the three Vedas. He discussed the three *vijjās* (*vidyās*) of the brahmins and explained the three *vijjās* (*vidyās*) of his own. A monk becomes pious by giving up life-slaughter and is restrained in killing animals. The law has been well explained by Gotama in various ways.¹⁸

17. *Dīgha*, I, pp. 224 ff.

18. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 235 ff.—*Tevijja Sutta*.

At one time the Blessed One was moving about for alms with a big congregation of monks among the Kosalans and proceeded towards the brahmin village named Sālā belonging to the Kosalans. The brahmin householders of Sāleyyaka heard that Gotama reached Sālā with a big assembly of monks in course of his wanderings for alms. They approached the Blessed One. Having approached some saluted the Master and sat on one side; some exchanged friendly greetings with him and sat on one side; some saluted him with folded hands and sat on one side; some declaring their name and family name in the presence of the Buddha, sat on one side; and some silently sat on one side. The brahmin householders put this question to the lord: "Why and wherefore is it that after death, at the dissolution of the body, some beings are reborn in states of suffering or woe or purgatory; while others are reborn in some happy state or heaven?" The Buddha answered thus: "Those beings who walk not in righteousness but in wickedness pass to states of suffering; those who walk in righteousness and in goodness are reborn in happy states in heaven." The lord further said, "There are three forms of unrighteousness and wickedness for the body; four for speech; and three for thoughts. As regards bodily unrighteousness a man may take life like a hunter with hands bathed in blood (*lohitapāṇi*), slaying, merciless to living beings (*adayāpannopānabhūtesu*); or may take what is not his own; or may be a fornicator. As regards unrighteousness of speech, a man may be a liar or he may be a slanderer or he may be bitter of tongue or he may be a tattler. As regards unrighteousness of thought, a man may be covetous, or he may be malevolent and wicked of heart or he may be wrong in outlook and erroneous in his conceptions."¹⁹

While the Blessed One was in the brahmin village of the Kosalas named Sālā with the monks in search of alms, he asked the brahmin householders of Sāleyyaka whether they had got a favourite teacher in whom they had confidence. The answer was in the negative. The Buddha said, "As you have not got a favourite teacher of your own, you should embrace and fulfil the sound doctrine to your lasting happiness and welfare. In what does it consist? Among recluses and brahmins there are some who hold that there is no such thing as alms or sacrifice or oblation, no such

19. *Majjhima*, I, pp. 285-90.

thing as the fruit and harvest of actions, good or bad, no such thing as this world or the next, no such thing as parents or spontaneous generation, no such thing in this world as recluses and brahmins who have achieved success and walk aright, who have apprehended and realised this world and the next. Others again maintain that there are indeed such things as these. Are not these two schools of recluses and brahmins diametrically opposed, one to the other?" The answer was in the affirmative. The Buddha further said, "As regards those who hold and affirm that there are no such things as above, it may be predicated that scouting the three right principles of good behaviour in body, word and thought, they will embrace and follow the three wrong principles of bad behaviour in body, word and thought. Because such recluses and brahmins see neither the peril, vanity and foulness of the wrong qualities, nor the blessing coming out of renunciation, allied to sanctity. Although there is a next world, he holds the view there is not and this is his wrong view. A man of intelligence says to himself that if there be no world to come, then this individual at the dissolution of the body after death, will fare well; but if there be a world to come, he will pass to a doom of tribulation and woe or to purgatory. There are four types of individuals to be found in the world: (1) there is one who tortures himself and is given up to self-torture; (2) then there is one who tortures others and is set on torturing them; (3) next there is one who tortures both himself and others; (4) lastly there is one who tortures neither himself nor others. This last individual dwells here and now, beyond all appetites, consummate, unfevered, blissful and perfected." The brahmin householders of Sālā were really satisfied with the word of the lord and requested him to accept them as his followers.²⁰

Once the Master was staying among the Kosalans at the Butea grove (Palāsavana) at Naḷakapāna. Then many distinguished youngmen had gone from home to homelessness as pilgrims. The Master put the question direct to these youngmen and he asked Anuruddha, who was one of them, whether they found joy in the higher life. The answer was in the affirmative. The Buddha praised them for renouncing the household life, when quite young. The youngmen said: "A truth-finder has put away from him all

20. *Majjhima*, I, pp. 400-13.

cankers. This is why he knows how cankers are severally to be dealt with." The Buddha said: "By cutting asunder the three bonds, a departed monk has embarked on the stream of salvation, is safe from future states of punishment, is sure of his future and destined to win full enlightenment. From his personal observation life is blessed. A truth-finder's end in view is not to cajole or delude folk, nor is it to get for himself gains or repute or fame or profit, nor is it to advertise himself as revealing the respective states hereafter of his disciples, dead and gone. It is because there are youngmen, who believe and are filled with enthusiasm and gladness, who on hearing this revelation, concentrate their whole hearts on becoming like these, to their own abiding welfare."²¹

At one time the Blessed One was searching for alms among the Kosalans with a big assembly of monks. The revered Ānanda saluted the Blessed One with folded hands and said to him, "What is the cause of the smiling of the Blessed One? The *Tathāgatas* do not smile without cause and reason." Ānanda requested the Buddha to sit down here. Sitting down there the Buddha addressed Ānanda as follows: "Kassapa the lord lived near the market-town of Vehaliṅga and on this very spot he sat preaching to the congregation of monks. In this town there was a potter named Ghaṭikāra who ministered to Kassapa the lord. Ghaṭikāra had a young brahmin named Jotipāla as his bosom friend whom he wanted to take to see Kassapa the lord, as he much valued going there himself. Both of them went to Kassapa. Ghaṭikāra presented his friend Jotipāla with the request that the lord would instruct him in the doctrine. Jotipāla decided to go from home to homelessness as a pilgrim. He was admitted and confirmed of the following of Kassapa the lord." The brahmin Jotipāla of those days was the Buddha himself. When Ānanda was informed of this, he was glad at heart and rejoiced in what the Master had said.²²

Once the Blessed One was searching for alms with a big congregation of monks among the Kosalans and proceeded towards a brahmin village of the Kosalans, named Nagaravinda. The brahmin householders of Nagaravinda heard that in the course of his

21. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 462 ff.

22. *Majjhima*, II, 45 ff.

alms-pilgrimage through Kosala, the recluse Gotama of the Sakyan clan, who had gone forth from home to homelessness as a pilgrim, arrived at Nagaravinda. The brahmin householders of Nagaravinda went to the Buddha and exchanged friendly greetings with him and took their seats on one side. The Buddha spoke to them thus: "If the wanderers of other schools were to ask you what types of recluses and brahmins ought not to receive honour, devotion and worship, you should make answer to them that honour, reverence, devotion, and worship ought not to be shown to recluses and brahmins, who in connection with visible forms and the sense-objects of the other five senses, have not shed all lust, all hatred and all folly and having hearts not yet tranquil, sometimes walk righteously and sometimes unrighteously in body, speech and mind. And why? Because you will say, we ourselves also behave just the same and fail to see a higher righteousness in these men; therefore we ought not to show such recluses and brahmins honour reverence, devotion and worship. This should be your answer to the enquiry from wanderers of other schools. If wanderers of other schools ask you what attributes and results in such recluses and brahmins lead you to say that they are either void of passion and triumphant over passion, or void of hatred and triumphant over hatred, or void of folly and triumphant over folly. These reverend men lodge in remote solitudes, where there are no forms to be seen to excite their admiration by familiar occurrence. This should be your answer to this enquiry from wanderers of other schools." The brahmin householders of Nagaravinda admitted that the Buddha had made his doctrine clear and they requested him to accept them as his disciples.²³

At one time the Buddha was searching for alms with a big congregation of monks and proceeded towards Venāgapura, which was a brahmin village of the Kosalans. The brahmin householders of Venāgapura heard that Gotama, who became a monk from the Sākya family, reached their village. There went abroad a fair report about Gotama thus: The Blessed One was an Arahāt, Exalted Buddha, perfect in knowledge and conduct, happy, knower of the world, excellent charioteer of men to be tamed, the teacher of gods and men and the Enlightened One. The brahmin householders of Venāgapura came to see the Exalted Buddha. Some

23. *Majjhima*, III, 290 ff.

saluted the Master and sat on one side; some exchanged friendly greetings with him and sat on one side; some saluted him with folded hands and sat on one side; some proclaimed their names and family-names and sat on one side; and some sat on one side, being silent. The brahmin belonging to Venāgapura named Vacchagotta who sat on one side said thus to the Blessed One: "It is wonderful, O Gotama, it is marvellous. The couches, both high and broad, such as the sofa, the divan etc., all such seats, both high and low, the worthy Gotama can get as he pleases, can get them without toil and trouble." Gotama replied, "We wanderers get them hardly and if gotten, they are not to be made use of. There are three couches, both high and broad, which I can get both here and now, as I please, without toil and trouble. I am living dependent on a certain village or suburb. I get myself robed in the forenoon, and taking bowl and outer robe I enter the village or suburb to beg. After returning from my alms-round and taking my meal I make for the edge of a forest. There sitting cross-legged I hold my body straight and set mindfulness in front of me. Thus aloof from sense-desires, from unprofitable states of mind I enter on the first stage of meditation which is accompanied by thought directed and sustained, born of seclusion, zestful and easeful and abide therein. By calming down thought directed and sustained I enter on that inward calm, that single-minded purpose, apart from thought directed and sustained, born of mental balance, zestful and easeful, which is the second stage of meditation and abide therein. Then by the fading out of zest, I become balanced and remain mindful and composed. I enter on the third stage of meditation and abide therein. Then by rejecting pleasure and pain and coming to an end of the joy and sorrow which I had before, I enter and abide in the fourth stage of meditation, free from pain and pleasure, a state of perfect purity of balance and equanimity. When I have reached such a state, if I walk up and down, at such time my walking is to me celestial. If I stand, at such time my standing is celestial; if I sit, my sitting is to me celestial; if I lie down, celestial is the high broad couch I lie on. O brahmin! that is what I mean when I speak of the high broad couch celestial which I get without toil and trouble. Setting mindfulness in front of me. I abide suffusing one quarter of the world with a heart possessed of friendliness, likewise the second, third and fourth quarters and in like manner, above, below, across, and everywhere, for all sorts and conditions—the whole world do I abide suffusing with a heart

possessed of friendliness that is widespread, grown great and boundless, free from enmity and untroubled. O brahmin! when I have reached such a condition, if I walk up and down, my walking is to me sublime, my standing is sublime, my lying down is to me sublime, my sitting is sublime. When I live setting mindfulness in front of me, I know thus for certain: passion is abandoned by me. It is cut off at the root and is unable to sprout again in future. Malice is abandoned. Delusion is also abandoned by me." The brahmin householders were very pleased by listening to the discussion of Gotama and requested him to accept them as his lay followers.²⁴

Once the Blessed One dwelt in the country of the Kosalas named Paṅkadhā. A monk named Kassapa was a dweller of Paṅkadhā. It happened that the Exalted One was instructing, inciting, and gladdening the monks with a religious talk suitable to the keeping of the precepts. While the Exalted Buddha was thus engaged, the monk named Kassapa did not approve, was dissatisfied and thought: This recluse was much too scrupulous. Kassapa saluted the Exalted Buddha and spoke to him about this fact. He came to the Buddha when he was at Rājagaha to explain his transgression to him. He said thus: "Transgression overcame me, such was my folly, my infatuation, my wrong doing, in that, while the Enlightened Buddha was instructing the monks. I did not approve, I was dissatisfied thinking: this recluse was much too scrupulous. The Exalted Buddha should accept my confession from me who have transgressed, to be a restraint upon me in the future" (cf. *Vinaya Texts*, 261). The Buddha said: "O Kassapa, you have seen your transgression and made confession. Growth verily is this in the discipline of an Ariyan, when having seen one's transgression as such, he makes confession and in future practises self-restraint."²⁵

The Buddha with a big company of monks, while wandering for alms among the Kosalans, came to the brahmin village of Icchānaṅgala, belonging to them. The brahmin householders of Icchānaṅgala brought food for the Exalted Buddha. The Buddha said, "Whosoever loves, to him change and a state of otherness

24. *Aṅguttara*, I, pp. 180-85.

25. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 236 ff.

must come, grief, lamentation, suffering, sorrow and despair (*Sokaparidevadukkhadomanassupāyāsā*). Such is the issue of it (*eso tassa nissando*). Whosoever is bent on applying himself to the symbol of the unattractive, in him disgust for the symbol of the attractive is established; such is the issue of it. Whosoever abides, seeing impermanence in the six spheres of touch, in him disgust for touch is established; such is the issue of it. Whosoever abides, seeing the rise and fall in the fivefold body of attachment, in him disgust for attachment is established; such is the issue of it."^{25a}

The Exalted Buddha was once moving among the Kosalans with many monks. He went towards the place where grew a big grove of śāla trees. He made his way among the trees and at a certain place he smiled. Ānanda asked the Master the cause of his smile. The Buddha said, "At this place, Ānanda, in olden times there was a rich and flourishing city thronged with many people. The Exalted Kassappa dwelt there. Gavesin was his lay disciple. He did not keep the moral precepts. His five hundred disciples also did not keep the moral precepts. Gavesin went to them and said, 'Know from to-day that I keep the moral precepts.' His lay disciples told him that they would henceforth keep the moral precepts. Ānanda, you should train yourself in this way: from higher to higher, from strength to strength we will strive and come to realise liberation above which there is nothing higher."²⁶

The Buddha while roaming among the Kosalans with a big company of monks saw a fisherman who had caught a haul of fish and was selling them as a fishmonger. The Master at the sight stepped off the road and sat down on the seat prepared for him. Sitting he said to the monks thus: "Monks, you see the fisherman selling fish as a fishmonger. Have you either seen or heard of a fisherman fishmonger slaughtering and selling fish, and as a result of such deed, of that way of living, going about on an elephant or on horseback or in a chariot or carriage, or feasting or living in the abundance of great wealth?" The monks replied in the negative. The Buddha further said, "verily being evil-minded he gloats on fish being slaughtered, being brought to the slaughter. Have

25a. *Āṅguttara*, III, pp. 30 ff.

26. *Ibid.*, III, pp. 214 ff.

you either seen or heard of a butcher slaughtering and selling cattle and living in the abundance of great wealth? But what shall be said of him who gloats evilly on human beings being slaughtered or being brought to the slaughter? O monks, it shall be his harm for many a day, for on the breaking up of the body, after death, he shall arise in hell."^{26a}

The Buddha while among the Kosalans addressed the monks thus: "O monks, the controlling faculty of wisdom is a principle that is on the side of the wisdom, for it conduces to attaining the wisdom. The same with regard to the controlling faculty of faith, that of energy, that of mindfulness, that of concentration, and that of insight. Of the principles that are on the side of the wisdom, the controlling faculty of insight is reckoned chief."²⁷

The Exalted Buddha, while among the Kosalans, said thus, "An Ariyan disciple thus reflects: If some one should spoil my fortune by lying speech, it would not be a thing pleasant or delightful to me. If I should spoil another's fortune by lying speech, it would not be a thing pleasant or delightful to him. As a result of this reflection, he himself abstains from lying speech, he encourages others so to abstain, speaks in praise of abstaining therefrom. Thus as regards conduct in speech he is utterly pure. Again an Ariyan disciple thus reflects: If some one should estrange me from my friends by slander, it would not be a pleasant or delightful thing to me. If I should estrange him from his friends, it would not be a pleasant or delightful thing to him. As a result of this reflection he himself abstains from slander."²⁸

Āṅgulimāla at the time of the Buddha, was a son of a chaplain to the King of Kosala. He was doubtful as to who stopped him. The Buddha said, "I have stopped, Āṅgulimāla, evermore, towards all living things, renouncing violence. You do not hold your hand against your fellowmen. Therefore, I say that I have stopped, and you still go on." He was badly treated by the people while he was on his rounds for alms. He sought the help of the Master who said thus, "You have to suffer it. The result of your actions for which you might have been roasted for cen-

26a. *Āṅguttara*, III, pp. 301 ff.

27. *Samyutta*, V, pp. 227-28.

28. *Samyutta*, V, pp. 352 ff.

turies in purgatory, you are feeling now in this life." The Thera Aṅgulimāla summoned up a heart of love for all beings without distinction.²⁹

Once the Blessed one lived at Sāvattthī in the Jētavana garden of Anāthapiṇḍika. The Master addressed the monks thus: "There are three signs, marks, and attributes of a fool. He thinks what he should not, he says what he should not, and he does what he should not. In three modes a fool experiences pain and anguish. If he is sitting in an assembly, or in the street or at the cross-roads, then, if talk turns on that sort of thing, the fool, should he be a murderer or a thief or a liar or should he indulge in strong drink, bethinks him that by nature he is just what they are discussing. This is the first mode. A fool sees how when a guilty robber is arrested, he is punished by the authorities in diverse ways, by flogging etc. The fool bethinks himself that he has in himself all the qualities which entail such punishment of guilt by the authorities and that if they only knew him, they would punish him too in the same way. This is the second mode. A fool is upon his bench or bed or is lying on the ground, the sense of his wrong-doing in act, speech, and thought, hangs round him, rests on him and envelopes him. A fool thinks to himself how while he has not done what was good or right, he has done what is bad and cruel and that his hereafter will tally therewith. Consequently mourning and distress of heart is his, he laments and beats his breast. This is the third mode." The monks were glad at heart and rejoiced in what the Buddha had said.³⁰

Once the Buddha was dwelling in the hermitage of Anāthapiṇḍika at Sāvattthī. Hatthaka, the son of a god, said to the Buddha thus, "O lord, I never had enough of three things when I was in human form. I died regretful of three things. I never had enough of beholding the Exalted One. I died regretting it. I never had enough of hearing true *dhamma* (norm). I died regretting it. I never had enough of serving the Order. I died regretting it."³¹

29. *Theragāthā*, vs. 866 ff; Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Psalms of the Brethren*, pp. 318 ff.

30. *Majjhima*, III, pp. 163 ff.

31. *Aṅguttara*, I, pp. 278-79.

The Buddha while he was here addressed the monks thus: "There are two faults, namely, that which has its result in this very life, and that which has its result in some future life. One sees rulers seize a thief, a miscreant, subjecting him to diverse forms of punishment: flogging him with whips, with canes, with cudgels, cutting off his hand, his foot, his ear, nose etc., torturing him with the fire-garland, with the flaming hand, with the pickling process, with circling the pin, with the straw mattress. Then they spray him with boiling oil, give him as food to dogs, etc. The observer of all this thinks thus: If I were to do such deeds as those for which the rulers seize a thief, a miscreant, they would surely treat me in like manner. Thus scared at the thought of a fault in this very life, he does not plunder other's property. This is called a fault with immediate retribution. Now what is a fault with future retribution? In this connection some one may think thus: Evil in the future life is the fruit of bodily offence. Evil is the fruit of offence by word, by thought, in the future life. If I offend in deed, in word, in thought, should I not, when body breaks up after death, be reborn in purgatory? Thus scared at the thought of a fault to be atoned for in a future life, he abandons immorality in bodily deeds and practises morality in them; he abandons immorality in the practice of speech and thought and cultivates morality therein and conducts himself with utter purity. This is called a fault with future retribution. O monks, you must train yourselves thus: We will fear faults with immediate, we will fear faults with future retribution. We will shun faults, we will see danger in faults. Of one who does so, it may be expected that he will be released from all faults. There are two struggles which are hard to undergo in this world: the struggle of householders who live at home to provide clothing, food, lodging, medicines for the sick and provision of necessities, and the struggle of those who have gone from home to homelessness to renounce all substrates of rebirth. O monks, two things I have realised: to be discontented in good states and not to shrink back from the struggle. By my earnest endeavour I won enlightenment, I won the unrivalled freedom from the bond. O monks, you must train yourselves thus: We will not decline the contest, but will struggle on. One should look with satisfaction on things which are like fetters that bind to rebirth and one should look with disgust thereon. Two states are dark, viz., shamelessness and recklessness. There are two states that are bright, viz., sense of shame and fear of shame.

There are two bright states that protect the world, viz., sense of shame and fear of blame."³²

The Buddha further addressed the monks at the Jetavana Park thus: "Whatsoever fears arise, all of them arise from the fool and not from the wise. Whatsoever dangers arise, whatsoever oppressions of mind arise, all of them arise from the fool and not from the wise. Monks, you must train yourselves thus: Abandoning the three conditions by which the fool is to be known, we will acquire and practise the three conditions by which the wise is to be known. Wisdom shines forth by one's behaviour. A fool is marked by his deeds and also a wise man is marked by his deeds. By three characteristics, viz., immorality in deed, speech and thought, a fool is to be known. By three characteristics, viz., morality in deed, speech, and thought, a wise man is to be known. A fool thinks thoughts, speaks words, does deeds that are wrong. A wise man thinks thoughts, speaks words and does deeds that are right. A fool sees not an offence as such, and when he sees an offence as such, he does not make amends. But when another acknowledges his offence, he does not pardon it as he ought. A fool is to be known by unprofitable deeds, words and thoughts, by malicious deeds, words and thoughts."³³ The Exalted Buddha said thus: "O Sāriputta, a person who is released by faith is on the path to saintship. One who has testified to the truth with body, is a once-returner or a non-returner. He who has won view is also a once-returner or a non-returner."³⁴

The Buddha thus addressed the monks at Sāvattthī, "I will teach you, O monks, the bases of knowledge in sevenfold groups (*satta sattari*). They are as follows: (1) knowledge that decay and death are conditioned by birth; (2) knowledge that where birth does not exist, there are no decay and death; (3) knowledge that in times goneby decay and death were conditioned by birth; (4) knowledge that then also where birth did not exist, there were no decay and death; (5) knowledge that in time to come decay and death will be conditioned by birth; (6) knowledge that then also where birth does not exist, there will be no decay and death; (7) whatever is knowledge of the law of cause, that is also know-

32. *Āṅguttara*, I, pp. 47-51.

33. *Āṅguttara*, I, pp. 101 ff.

34. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 118 ff.

ledge of that which is by nature perishable, transient, fading away, tending to cease."³⁵

The Exalted Buddha while staying at Pubbārāma at Sāvattthī said to Visākhā, Migāra's mother thus: "The naked ascetics exhort a disciple thus: Lay aside the stick as regards all creatures that exist eastwards beyond 100 yojanas, likewise westwards, northwards and southwards. They exhort them to show kindness and compassion towards some creatures only but not to all. As an Ariyan disciple calls to mind the *Tathāgata*, his mind is calmed; he dwells with Brahmā. The soilure of the mind is abandoned. He calls to mind *Dhamma*, well proclaimed by the Exalted Buddha. He calls to mind the Order well conducted. He calls to mind the Devas."³⁶

The Buddha while dwelling in the Jetavana Park of Anāthapiṇḍika at Sāvattthī said to the princess Sumanā thus: "The alms-giver as man surpasses the non-giver in five ways: in human life-span, beauty, happiness, honour and power. In these five ways the alms-giver as man surpasses the non-giver. The alms-giver, when he has gone forth from the home into the homeless life, surpasses the non-giver in five ways: he is often asked to accept a robe. He is not rarely asked; often to accept alms, not rarely; often to accept lodging, not rarely; often to accept medicaments for sickness, not rarely; with whomsoever he dwells in leading a godly life, such folk mostly act towards him in cordiality in their ways of living, talking and thinking; it is rare for them not to act cordially, cordially they offer service, seldom without cordiality. In these five ways an alms-giver when he has renounced the household life, surpasses the non-giver. A virtuous and believing man outshines the mean in charity on earth. The all-Enlightened One lives after death blissfully in heaven."³⁷

The Buddha, while dwelling at Anāthapiṇḍika's Park at Sāvattthī spoke thus to the householder Anāthapiṇḍika, "What are the five reasons for getting rich? An Ariyan disciple with riches obtained by work and zeal, gathered by the strength of the aim, earned by the sweat of the brow, justly obtained in a lawful way,

35. *Samyutta*, II, pp. 59-60.

36. *Aṅguttara*, I, pp. 205 ff.

37. *Ibid.*, III, pp. 32-34.

makes himself happy, makes his parents, wife, children and slaves happy. This is the first reason. When riches are thus obtained, he makes his friends and companions happy — this is the second reason. Again, when riches are thus gotten, ill-luck from fire and water, robbers, enemies, heirs, is warded off, and he keeps his goods in safety. This is the third reason. Again, when the riches are thus gotten, he makes the five oblations, oblations to kin, guests, spirits, kings, and gods — this is the fourth reason. Moreover, when riches are thus obtained, he institutes offerings, of lofty aim, celestial, ripening to happiness, leading heavenward, for all those recluses and godly men who abstain from pride and indolence, who bear all things in patience and humility, each mastering self and each calming and perfecting self — this is the fifth reason for getting rich.”³⁸

When the Buddha was here, King Pasenadi of Kosala went to him, saluted him and sat on one side. At this time Pasenadi was informed of the death of his queen Mallikā. On getting this news, the king was full of sorrow, sick at heart, cast his face downwards, he sat brooding, unable to speak. Knowing the state of his mind the Buddha said to him thus, “O king, there are five states which cannot be obtained by recluse or Māra or Brahmā or by anybody in this world.”³⁹

Here the Buddha addressed the monks thus, “O monks there are five checks, hindrances, which over-spread the heart, which weaken insight. They are as follows: sensual desire (*kāmacchando*), ill-will (*vyāpādo*), sloth and torpor (*thinamiddham*), flurry and worry (*uddhaccakukkuccaṃ*), and doubt (*vicikicchā*).”⁴⁰

While the Buddha was dwelling here, a mother and son were both spending the rainy season there as monk and nun. They longed to see each other often. The mother often wished for her son, the son for his mother. From seeing each other often, companionship arose; from companionship intimacy, from intimacy amorousness, etc. Some monks went to the Exalted Buddha and told him all that had happened. The Buddha said, “I see no other single form so enticing, so desirable, so intoxicating, so binding and so

38. *Āṅguttara*, III, pp. 45-46.

39. *Ibid.*, III, p. 57.

40. *Ibid.*, III, p. 63.

distracting. Whomsoever clings to a woman's form — infatuated, greedy, fettered, enslaved, shall grieve for a long time, snared by the charms of a woman's form. Whosoever clings to the sound, perfume, taste, and touch of a woman, infatuated, greedy, fettered, enslaved and enthralled, he shall grieve for a long time, snared by a woman's charms. A woman, even when going along, will stop to ensnare the heart of a man. It is wholly a snare of Māra or Satan. Really speaking it is wholly a snare of womanhood."⁴¹

Here the Buddha spoke to the monks about the five precepts, avoidance of life-slaughter, avoidance of theft, avoidance of sensual pleasures, avoidance of falsehood, and avoidance of taking wine and intoxicating drinks.⁴² A lay disciple who is endowed with these five precepts becomes wise. Here at the Jetavana monastery the Blessed One addressed the monks thus: "A monk who follows six things, is worthy of offerings, gifts, oblations and reverential salutation. Herein a monk on seeing a form with the eye is neither elated nor depressed, but abides in poise, mindful and self-possessed; on hearing a sound with the ear, on smelling a smell with the nose, on tasting a taste with the tongue, on touching a touchable with the body, on becoming aware of an idea with the mind, he is neither elated nor depressed, but abides in poise, mindful and self-possessed." The monks rejoiced exceedingly in the word of the exalted Buddha.⁴³

Here the Master asked the monks to learn thus: "We will become guarded as to the sense-doors; observe moderation in eating, we shall be vigilant; we shall become seers of right things; we shall live engaging ourselves in practising things that wing to our awakening."⁴⁴

Here at the Jetavana monastery the Buddha thus addressed the monks when the night was over, and told them all that had taken place: "Deep respect for the Teacher, for the Norm and for the Order, reverence for earnestness and for good will; it is not possible for a monk to lose; he is near *nibbāna* or perfect beatitude."⁴⁵

41. *Āṅguttara*, III, pp. 67-68.

42. *Ibid.*, III, p. 203.

43. *Ibid.*, III, p. 279.

44. *Āṅguttara*, III, p. 301.

45. *Ibid.*, III, p. 331.

Here the Buddha also addressed the monks thus: "O monks, the giver's part is threefold, and the receiver's part is threefold. Before the gift the giver is glad at heart; in giving the heart is satisfied, and uplifted is the heart when he has given; this is the giver's threefold part. Receivers are lust-freed or stepping to cast lust out; they are hate-freed or stepping to cast hatred out; they are delusion-freed or stepping to become so; this is the threefold part of the receivers. O monks, it is not easy to grasp the measure of merit of such a sixfold endowed offering. Verily the great mass of merit is reckoned as unreckonable (*asamkheyyo*) and immeasurable (*appameyyo*)."⁴⁶

The Buddha addressed the monks thus while staying at the Jetavana monastery: "O monks, clansmen declare gnosis; the goal is told but self is not mentioned; yet there are some fools here who declare gnosis braggingly. Afterwards they suffer remorse. None greater less the same—they are not led by these. Birth is exhausted, holy life is lived, they move about being freed from fetters."⁴⁷

At one time the Buddha stayed at Sāvattihī in the Jetavana hermitage of Anāthapiṇḍika. Here the great sacrifice of Uggata-sarīra brahmin was being performed elaborately. The brahmin informed the Buddha thus: "If sacrifice be offered to the fire, and if sacrificial wood is raised by anybody, he will accumulate much merit." The Buddha said, "If one gives up fire of passion, anger and ignorance, he will acquire the greatest merit." The Master also spoke of the three kinds of fire, viz., the fire of a householder, the fire of oblation and the fire of wood, which one should honour and worship.⁴⁸

The Master then went to Anāthapiṇḍika's house and instructed his daughter-in-law, Sujātā, on seven kinds of wives. The seven kinds of wives referred to were those who were like killers, like thieves, like those lording over their husbands, like mothers, like sisters, like female friends, and like female slaves.⁴⁹ As regards seven kinds of wives, it may be mentioned as follows: (1) wife who is always angry, hot-tempered, wishing ill of her husband,

46. *Ibid.*, III, p. 336.

47. *Ibid.*, III, pp. 358-59.

48. *Anguttara*, IV, pp. 41 ff.

49. *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 91 ff.

who is attached to others, who does not care for her husband, who is always ready to kill her husband, if opportunity arises; (2) wife who steals the earnings of her husband; (3) wife who is lazy, does not mind to work, rough, hot-tempered, wants to lord over all the members of the family including her husband; (4) wife who is kind to her husband as a mother to her son, always protects her husband and her husband's earnings; (5) wife who behaves with her husband like an elder sister with her younger sister, who is bashful and devoted to her husband; (6) wife who finds delight in seeing her husband like a female companion seeing her friend after a long time, (7) wife who is not angry in any sphere, even if beaten or oppressed by her husband, who always pardons her husband with a loving heart, and who is always devoted to her husband like a maidservant to her master.

At the Jetavana hermitage at Sāvattihī the Master delivered a sermon to the monks on the good effect of developing '*mettā*' or amity and on the merit and importance of observing *sabbath* consisting of seven *aṅgas* or precepts.⁵⁰ Here the Master spoke to Visākha Migāramātā about the eight and four qualities of women.⁵¹ The Master also spoke to the banker Anāthapiṇḍika about the way in which charity should be dispensed.⁵² The Buddha said to Anāthapiṇḍika who was then very poor: "Do you offer charity at home?" He replied, "Yes, very little and very poor." The Master said, "You need not be sorry. If you offer it with true heart, it will no doubt get you much more merit than the offering of big charities given without sincerity."

At Sāvattihī the Buddha uttered a stanza knowing that the king Pasenadi of Kosala had finished his meal. The purport of this stanza is as follows: The sensations of a person who is always endowed with recollection and who knows moderation in food, become slight and the life becomes old.⁵³ The Buddha while at Jetavana in Anāthapiṇḍika's park at Sāvattihī addressed the monks thus: "O monks, eye is impermanent. What is impermanent, that is ill, what is ill, that is void of the self. What is void of the self, that is not mine. I am not it; it is not myself.

50. *Anguttara*, IV, pp. 150-51; *Ibid.*, pp. 248 ff.

51. *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 267, 269 ff.

52. *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 392 ff.

53. *Saṃyutta*, I, p. 81.

That is how it is to be regarded with perfect insight of what it really is. The ear is impermanent. A well-taught Ariyan disciple is repelled by eye, ear, nose, tongue, body, and mind. Being repelled by them he lusts not for them. Not lusting he is set free. In this freedom comes insight of being free. Thus he realises: 'Rebirth is destroyed, lived is the righteous life, done is the task, for life in these conditions there is no hereafter. Objects are impermanent. Objects are ill. Objects are void of the self. The eye is impermanent both in the past and in the future, not to speak of the present. The mind is impermanent, the mind is ill. Objects, sounds, scents, savours, things tangible, and mind-states are void of the self.'⁵⁴

Here at the Jetavana monastery the Exalted Buddha was meditating in solitude. This thought occurred to him: "Ripe now in Rāhula are those states that bring release to perfection." The Exalted Buddha said to Rāhula thus: "What do you think, Rāhula? Is the eye permanent or impermanent? Are mind-states permanent or impermanent?" He answered, "Mind-states are impermanent, Lord." Rāhula said, "Mind-consciousness mind-contact, the experience of feeling, perception, the activities and consciousness arising owing to mind-contact are impermanent." Rāhula was delighted with the words of the Buddha and welcomed them. When this instruction was given, Rāhula's heart was freed from sins without grasping. And in those countless thousands of *devas* or gods arose the pure, spotless eye of the Norm, so that they knew: 'Whatsoever is of a nature to arise, all that is of a nature to cease.'⁵⁵

Here the Buddha further addressed the monks thus: "O monks, I will teach you the causal law. Listen to it. Conditioned by ignorance, activities come to pass; conditioned by activities consciousness, conditioned by consciousness, name and form, conditioned by name and form, six senses, conditioned by six senses, contact, conditioned by contact, feeling, conditioned by feeling, craving, conditioned by craving, attachment, conditioned by attachment, becoming, conditioned by becoming, birth, conditioned by birth, old age and death, grief, lamentation, suffering, sorrow

54. *Samyutta*, IV, pp. 1 ff.

55. *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 105 ff.

and despair come to pass. Such is the uprising of the entire mass of ill (*dukkhakkhandhassa samudayo hoti*)."

It may be pointed out that birth is defined as a particular biological process of development of an individual in a certain species of living beings. Decay is defined as a biological process of infirmity along with the maturity attained by an individual in a particular form of birth. Death is defined as a tragic biological end of an individual in life resulting from the arrest of vital functions. Sorrow is defined as a mental process of grieving due to the sense of a great loss of relatives or of wealth or of health or of character or of a cherished belief. Lamentation is defined as a verbal expression of sorrow felt in the heart. Pain is defined as bodily uneasiness or discomfort. Misery is nothing but a mental uneasiness or disagreeable feeling. Despair consists in utter dejection of spirit resulting from the sense of great loss beyond recovery. Suffering arises from a sense of disappointment. The question of suffering is inwardly bound up with the wish or desire of persons in regard to certain things. All such things in connection with which a man's wish or desire comes into play, are summed up by the five aggregates of attachment (*pañcupādānakhandhā dukkhā*).

The monks took delight in the saying of the Exalted Buddha. The Buddha further said, "O monks, what is old age and death? In this and that group, that which is decay, decrepitude, breaking up, hoariness, wrinkling of the skin, shrinkage of a life-span, over-ripeness of faculties; this is old age. That which, of this and that being, from this or that group, is falling or decease, separation, disappearance, mortality or dying, accomplishment of time; separation of component factors, laying down of the carcass: this is called death. O monks, what is birth? That which is birth, continuous birth, descent, reproduction, appearance of component factors, acquiring of sense-spheres. This is called birth. O monks, what is becoming? There are three becomings: becoming in kāma-worlds, becoming in rūpa-worlds, and becoming in arūpa-worlds. What is grasping? There are four graspings: grasping of desires, grasping of opinion, grasping of rule and ritual, and grasping of soul-theory. What is craving? There are six groups of craving: craving for things seen, for things heard, for odours, for tastes, for things tangible and for ideas. What is feeling? There are six groups of feeling: feeling, that is born of eye-contact,

born of ear-contact, born of nose-contact, born of tongue-contact, born of body-contact, and born of mind-contact. What is contact? There are six groups of contact: Eye, ear, nose, tongue, body and mind-contact. What is sixfold sense? The sense of eye, ear, nose, tongue, body and mind. What is name and form? Feeling, perception, will, contact, and work of mind. This is called name. The four great elements and the form derived from them—this is called form. What is consciousness? There are six groups of consciousness: eye-consciousness, ear-consciousness, smell, taste, touch and mind consciousness. What are activities? There are three activities—those of deed, speech, and mind. What is ignorance? Nescience concerning ill, its rise, its cessation and the way leading to the cessation of ill, this is called ignorance.⁵⁶

At Sāvattthī the Exalted Buddha said, "O monks, I will teach you both the wrong way (*micchāpaṭipadam*) and the right way (*sammāpaṭipadam*). What is the wrong way? Conditioned by ignorance activities come to pass; conditioned by activities consciousness comes to pass, even the way of the uprising of the entire mass of ill. This is called the wrong way. What is the right way? From the utter fading away and ceasing of ignorance comes the ceasing of activities; from the ceasing of activities comes the ceasing of consciousness, even the way of the ceasing of the entire mass of ill. This is called the right way."⁵⁷

Here the Buddha said to the wanderer named Timbaruka: "The experience and he who experiences hereafter are one and the same. This, Timbaruka, which you at first called pleasure and pain brought about by one's self—I declare that it is not so. The *Tathāgata* teaches Norm by the middle way. Conditioned by ignorance activities come to pass, by activities, consciousness and so on. Such is the arising of the entire mass of ill. But through the utter fading away and ceasing of ignorance comes ceasing of activities, through ceasing of activities, ceasing of consciousness and so on." The wanderer was delighted with the words of the Exalted One and requested the Master to accept him as his disciple.⁵⁸

56. *Samyutta*, II, pp. 1 ff.

57. *Samyutta*, II, pp. 4-5.

58. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 22-23.

At Sāvattthī the Buddha addressed the monks thus: "There are forty-four bases of knowledge (*catucattārīsam ñāṇavatthuni*), knowledge in the nature of decay and death (*jarāmarañe ñāṇam*): in its uprising (*samudaye*), in its ceasing (*nirodhe*) and in the way going to its ceasing (*nirodhagāminiyā paṭipadāya*); knowledge in the nature of birth, of becoming, of grasping, of craving, of feeling, of contact, of sense, of name and form, of consciousness, of activities, knowledge in the uprising of each, in their ceasing, in the way going to their ceasing—these are the forty-four bases of knowledge.⁵⁹

The monks were further addressed at Sāvattthī by the Buddha thus: "The ocean when it swells, makes the great rivers swell, make their tributaries swell, these when they swell, make the mountain-lakes swell, when they swell, they make the mountain tarns swell. Even so, O monks, swelling ignorance makes activities swell, swelling activities make consciousness swell, swelling consciousness makes name and form swell, swelling name and form make sense swell, swelling sense makes contact swell, swelling contact makes feeling swell, swelling feeling makes craving swell, swelling craving makes grasping swell, swelling grasping makes becoming swell, swelling becoming makes birth swell, swelling birth makes decay and death swell. The ocean when it ebbs, makes the great rivers ebb, these make the tributaries ebb, these make the mountain lakes ebb and these make the mountain tarns ebb. Even so ebbing ignorance (*avijjā*) makes activities (*saṅkhāre*) ebb and hence comes ebbing of consciousness, name and form, sense (*saḷāyatana*—meaning six organs of senses), contact (*phassa*), feeling (*vedanā*), craving (*taṇhā*) grasping (*upādāna*), becoming (*bhava*), birth (*jāti*), decay and death (*jarāmarāṇa*)."⁶⁰

While at Sāvattthī the Buddha addressed the monks thus: "Conditioned by ignorance, activities come to pass, conditioned by activities, consciousness such is the uprising of the entire mass of ill. Where there is the view—soul and body are one and the same, or the view that the soul and body are different things, there is no divine living there. The *Tathāgata* reaches neither of

59. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 56 ff.

60. *Samyutta*, II, pp. 118-19.

these two extremes; he teaches a middle path and says—conditioned by birth is decay and dying. From utter fading out and ceasing of ignorance these disorders, these disagreements, these distortions become cast out, they have been cut off at the root, so that they cannot grow up again in the future.”⁶¹

The Buddha said to Anāthapiṇḍika the banker of Sāvattthī thus: “When the fivefold guilty dread is allayed in the Ariyan disciple, and he is possessed of the four limbs of stream-winning and has well seen and well penetrated the Ariyan method by insight, he may proclaim thus of himself, I am one who has cut off the doom of hell, of rebirth, a stream-winner am I, one not doomed to the downfall, assured, bound for enlightenment. It is that guilty dread which he who kills, begets in this very life, as a result of his killing: it is that guilty dread about the future life which he who kills, begets: that feeling of painful dejection felt by him, that guilty dread is allayed in him who abstains from killing. An Ariyan disciple is blessed with unwavering loyalty to the Buddha, the Norm and the Order, and he has the virtues dear to the Ariyans. Virtues unbroken, conduce to concentration of mind.”⁶²

Sāvattthī, the capital of Kosala, contributed a fair number of monks and nuns, who accepted the teachings of the Buddha. Paṭācārā was the daughter of a rich banker of Sāvattthī. She became a nun after great bereavements. She turned mad after the death of her parents and brother. Since then she did not wear cloth and was therefore known as Paṭācārā. One day the Buddha saw her in that plight and said, “Sister, recover your shameful-ness.” She regained her consciousness and the Buddha taught her that sons, parents, and relations were no shelter and asked her to discern the truth in order to quickly make clear the way to *nirvāṇa*. Then she was established in the fruition of the first stage of sanctification. The Buddha gave her suitable instruction. She attained saintship with analytical knowledge.⁶³

Kisāgotamī came of a poor family at Sāvattthī. The Buddha's beauty pleased her so much that she uttered a stanza the purport

61. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 60 ff.

62. *Samyutta*, V, pp. 387-88.

63. *Therīgāthā*, vs. 116 ff.; Cf. *Therīgāthā Commy.*, 108 ff.; *Manorathapūraṇī*, pp. 356-60; *Aug.* I, 25.

of which is this: 'The mother who has such a child, and the father who has such a son, and the wife who has such a husband, are really happy.' On the death of her only son, she went to the Buddha with the dead body and requested him to bring the dead to life. The Buddha asked her to bring a little mustard seed from a house where not a man died. She turned from house to house and came back to the Master quite unsuccessful. The Buddha delivered a sermon which led her to become a nun. Her insight grew within a short time and she attained saintship.⁶⁴

Sumanā was a Sāvattian. She was a sister of the king of Kosala. She was established in the refuges and precepts. Hearing the Buddha teach, she attained the fruit of the path of non-returner and asked for ordination. The Buddha, seeing the maturity of her knowledge, spoke thus, "The passions which have raged within you, are stilled. You are calmed now, knowing the peace of *nibbāna*." She attained saintship.⁶⁵

Another Sāvattian at the time of the Buddha was Hatthā-rohaputta, who went to the Buddha, heard the Norm and believed and entered the Order. He had his insight expanded and realised saintship. He held his heart in thorough check, like an elephant-trainer restraining the savage-elephant by his hook.⁶⁶

When the Buddha was dwelling at Sāvattī in the park of Anāthapiṇḍika at Jetavana, many old and wealthy Kosalan brahmins went to him and asked him thus: "O venerable Gautama, are the *brāhmaṇas* now engaged in observing the brahmanical custom of the ancient *brāhmaṇas*?" The Buddha replied in the negative. The brahmins then, requested him to tell them the brahmanical custom of the ancient *brāhmaṇas*. The Buddha said: "The old sages were self-restrained and penitent and they studied their own welfare, having abandoned the objects of the five senses. They had no cattle, nor gold, nor corn. The repetition of the *mantras* was their best treasure. They were protected by *dharma*, invincible and inviolable. They practised brahmachariya from infancy for forty years. They did not marry a woman belonging to another caste nor did they buy a wife. They practised chastity and virtue, rectitude, mildness, penance,

64. *Therīgāthā*, vs. 213 ff.

65. *Ibid.*, v. 16.

66. *Theragāthā*, v. 77.

tenderness, compassion and patience. They performed religious ceremonies with alms which were obtained while begging. They did not kill cows even in sacrifice. They were in the habit of treating the cows as they treated their parents and relatives. The king instructed by the brahmins performed *asvamedha*, *puriṣamedha* and other sacrifices without any obstacle. Then the brahmins were given wealth with the result that they began to kill cows for sacrifices, the dharma was lost; there arose different castes; the wife despised her husband. The Kṣatriyas and brāhmaṇas indulged themselves in sensual pleasures." The Kosalan brahmins having listened to the custom of the ancient brahmins from the Buddha, became very much pleased and took refuge in the *Buddha*, *dharma* and *saṅgha*.⁶⁷

The Buddha stayed at Sāvattihī in the Jetavana monastery of Anāthapiṇḍika. Now at that time monks who were under probation consented to regular monks greeting them, standing up before them, saluting them with joined palms, doing the proper duties etc. Now this matter was brought to the notice of the Buddha who said: "A monk who is under probation, should not consent to regular monks greeting him etc. I allow five things for the monks under probation according to their seniority: Observance, invitation, cloths for the rains, gifts to the Order and rice."⁶⁸ While the Lord was staying there, Udāyi came to have fallen into one offence: the intentional emission of semen, not concealed. This matter was brought to notice of the Lord who said: "Let the Order inflict *mānatta* discipline for six nights on him for the offence."⁶⁹ Here a group of six monks carried out formal acts of censure, guidance, banishment, reconciliation or suspension against the absent monks. This matter was brought to the notice of the Lord who said: "A formal act of censure or guidance or banishment or reconciliation or suspension should not be carried out against the absent monks. Whoever should carry one out, there is an offence of wrong-doing."⁷⁰

At Sāvattihī the Buddha lived in the Jetavana vihāra of Anāthapiṇḍika. Visākhā, Migāra's mother, taking a jar, clay-foot scrubber and broom, approached the Lord and requested him to

67. *Suttanipāta*, P.T.S., pp. 50-55.

68. *Vinayapīṭaka*, II, pp. 31 ff.

69. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 38 ff.

70. *Vinayapīṭaka*, II, p. 73.

accept them. The Lord accepted the little jar and the broom but he did not accept the clay-foot scrubber. He gave a talk on *Dhamma* in the presence of Visākhā who was greatly delighted.⁷¹ The Buddha saw Anāthapiṇḍika coming and addressed him by name. Then the Lord gave a progressive talk to him, that is to say, talk on gift, talk on moral habit, and talk on heaven. The Master explained the peril, the vanity and the depravity of pleasures of the senses and the advantage in renouncing them. When the Lord knew that the mind of Anāthapiṇḍika was ready, he explained to him the teaching on *Dhamma*. Anāthapiṇḍika attained *Dhamma*, knew it and plunged into it.⁷² At Sāvattthī in the Jetavana monastery of Anāthapiṇḍika the Buddha was once staying. Now at that time incoming monks entered the monastery with their sandals on, with their sunshades up, with their heads muffled up and having put their robes on their heads. They washed their feet in the drinking water and they did not greet the resident monks who were senior, nor did they ask about lodgings. A certain incoming monk, having unfastened the bolt of an unoccupied dwelling place, having opened the door, entered hastily. This matter was brought to the notice of the Lord who rebuked the incoming monks, having given them a reasoned talk.⁷³

Once the Buddha was dwelling at Sāvattthī in the house of Migāra's mother at Pubbārāma. The Buddha was then sitting down surrounded by an order of monks on the observance day. When the night was far spent and the first watch was waning, Ānanda requested the Buddha to recite the *Pātimokkha* to the monks, but he remained silent. Again when the night was far spent and the middle and last watches were waning, the same request was made to him, but he remained silent. The Master did not recite the *Pātimokkha* in the assembly, as an individual of bad moral habit, depraved in character, of impure and suspicious behaviour, was sitting in the midst of the order of monks. The individual of bad moral habit was driven out and the company was made entirely pure. The Buddha was then requested to recite the *Pātimokkha*.⁷⁴ The Buddha said: "O monks, you should not without ground (*avattthusmim*), without reason (*akāraṇe*), sus-

71. *Ibid.*, II, p. 129.

72. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 156-57.

73. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 207 ff.

74. *Vinaya-piṭaka*, II, pp. 236 ff; vide Law, *History of Pali Lit.*, I, pp. 48 ff.

pend the *Pātimokkha* for pure monks who have no offences. Whoever should so suspend it, there is an offence of wrong-doing.”⁷⁵

A certain monk was going along a high road in the Kosala country. It occurred to him thus: “It is laid down by the Buddha that one should not live independently. I am in need of guidance but I am going along a high-road. Now what line of conduct should be followed by me?” This matter was brought to the notice of the Buddha who said: “I allow a monk, if he is going along a high-road and is not receiving guidance, to live independently. I allow a monk, if he is ill, and is not receiving guidance, to live independently. I allow a monk, if he is tending an ill one, and is not receiving guidance, to live independently, although being requested (*yāciyamānena*). I allow a monk, if he is a forest-dweller and is thinking about abiding in comfort and is not receiving guidance, to live independently, thinking ‘if a suitable giver of guidance comes along, I will live under his guidance’ ”.⁷⁶

An agreement was made by an Order in Sāvattthī that no one should be allowed to go forth during the rains. Regarding this point the Buddha said: “Monks, an agreement that no one should be allowed to go forth during the rains, should not be made. Whoever should make one, there is an offence of wrong-doing.”⁷⁷

The Buddha, while he was at Sāvattthī, rebuked the monks by saying, “You should not catch hold of the cows by their horns, by their ears, by their dewlaps, by their tails and you should not mount on their backs. Whoever should so mount there is an offence of wrong-doing. You should not kill young calves. Whoever should kill them should be dealt with according to the rule” (*Yathādhammo kāretabbo*).⁷⁸

While at Sāvattthī the Buddha allowed the monks who accepted the five medicines, to make use of them both at the right time (*kāle*) and at the wrong time (*vikāle*).⁷⁹

75. *Ibid.*, p. 241—*Yo ṭhapeyya, āpatti dukkaṭassa*.

76. *Vinayapiṭaka*, I, p. 92.

77. *Ibid.*, I, p. 153.

78. *Pātimokkha*, LXI; *Vinayapiṭaka*, I, p. 191.

79. *Vinayapiṭaka*, I, pp. 199-200—the five medicines are ghee or clarified butter, fresh butter, oil, honey and molasses, (*sappi navaṇitaṃ telaṃ madhu-phāṇitaṃ pañcabhesajjāni*).

Dravidian or South Indian Inscriptions

BY

PROF. D. B. DISKALKAR

Poona

The numerous inscriptions of the Dravidian or South Indian dynasties and people form an important group of Indian Epigraphical records. Owing to the profuseness of records and linguistic peculiarities of the South the Dravidian inscriptions are of special importance and form a class in itself. Perhaps no other country is so rich in stone inscriptions and copper-plate grants incised on thin, large and specially cut stone slabs and on a number of heavy copper-plates tied together along with a large variety of peculiar seals of the royal dynasties who granted them.

Almost every village in South India has one or two temples and there is practically no pillar or wall of a temple specially the plinth of a Chol temple which does not team with inscriptions. Similarly almost every village is in possession of more than one inscribed copperplate grants donated towards the maintenance of a temple and its priests—Brahmanical or Jain or of any other religious faith and for feeding the Brahmanas or the Jain Sadhus or the poor. The result is that inscriptions from South India amount to several tens of thousands. It is true that a major part of the rich epigraphical wealth of India consists of the Prakrit and Sanskrit inscriptions which have been collected studied and published since the beginning of the Epigraphical research in India, 170 years back. Although the stock of S. I. inscriptions is equally valuable not one-fourth of it is yet published inspite of the zealous efforts of the Government and the S. I. Research institutions and scholars.

The South Indian inscriptions were composed in Prakrit which was the official language of inscriptions in South India as in North India upto the fourth or fifth century A.D. But from the time of the Chalukya power in the South in the 5th century A.D., the whole aspect of the South Indian epigraphy was altogether changed, in respect of scripts, languages, religious faiths and the

nature of the records. The inscriptions began to be composed now in Sanskrit or in one of the four principal South Indian languages like Tamil, Telugu, Kannad and Malayalam. In North India since Sanskrit was recognised as the language of epigraphical records it continued to hold the field almost undisputed but in South India though Sanskrit held a position of honour the South Indian languages also were more freely used for all kinds of inscriptions. The South Indian languages though genealogically unconnected with Sanskrit are permeated by Sanskrit linguistic and literary elements. Sanskrit works were translated into the South Indian languages and the Vedant works considerably influenced the ethical thinking of the people who though speaking the non-Aryan languages were not ethnologically different from the Aryans. The authors of the South Indian inscriptions were great students of Vedic and classical Sanskrit literature in all its branches and frequently borrowed ideas and even portions from them. The South Indian inscriptions further show that the Vedant influence was more on the ethical thinking of the authors of the South Indian inscriptions than on that of the authors of the North Indian inscriptions. Consequently inscriptions in Sanskrit and in one or more of the South Indian languages are found issued by the same person, e.g., by the Chol King, Kulottunga.

Bilingual or rather multilingual inscriptions composed in more than one languages and written in more than one scripts are a special feature of South Indian Epigraphy. The combination of Sanskrit with one of the South Indian languages or of one South Indian language with another South Indian language or of one of the South Indian languages with the Muslim or Christian languages is frequently found. Sanskrit was partly employed generally at the beginning and at the end and the local speech of the people in the body of the record. Similarly inscriptions written partly in Devanagari and partly in one of the regional scripts or partly in one and partly in another of the regional scripts are frequently found. Naturally multilingual and multiscriptal inscriptions are often found in the same place which properly belongs to a particular language and script. We do not find such a thing in North India.

Owing to this peculiarity of the South Indian inscriptions they can better be classified according to the language in which

they are written rather than Chronologically according to the royal dynasties represented in them.

Tamil Inscriptions.

According to some scholars the cavern inscriptions discovered in Madura, Tinneveli and Trichinopalli districts and in the places like Tiruppararunam, Kalugumalai, Anaimalai, Alagarmalai, Mattupalli, Ayakudi, Sittanovaram in the former Puducotta State which are written in the most ancient forms of the Brahmi script peculiar to South India but some what resembling those in Asoka's edicts are in the Tamil language. Similarly certain Brahmi inscriptions found at Arikamedu near Pondicherry and at Mamandur near Kanchipuram in North Arcot district which are assigned by Dr. Wheeler to about the first Century A.D. are in Tamil. But according to other scholars the language used in them is Prakrit as in other Prakrit inscriptions of the early centuries of the Christian era found in South India.

Purely Tamil inscriptions written in the Tamil script begin to appear from about the seventh century A.D. The earliest Tamil inscription so far discovered is the Kurum grant of Paramesvaravarman I (S.I.I. I. 148).

The approximate number of Tamil inscriptions discovered so far in all the Tamil districts of the present Madras State is 20,000 about 5000 of which are published. They are mainly published in Volumes 1 to 3 and Volume 12 and 13 and also along with other inscriptions in Volumes 4 to 8 of the South Indian Inscriptions Series and in I.A. and E.I. etc.

The following royal dynasties are mainly represented in the Tamil inscriptions:—

The Pallavas	—	7th to 10th Century A.D.
Early Pandyas	—	7th to 14th " "
Early and later Cholas	—	7th to 13th " "
Kadavarayas		
Sambhuvarayas		
The Cheras	—	9th to 12th " "

Other minor dynasties were Bāṇas, Malayamānas, Mutherayan and Kudambadora chiefs, and Vijayanagar rulers after the close of the 13th century.

The Pandyas and the Cholas particularly favoured the use of Tamil in inscriptions. The Pallava rulers are not only marked by the inscriptions of the family but by naming of the cities, tanks, channels, etc. after the names or surnames of the kings and their queens. Costly gifts made by the Pallava king Perunjinga to the Nataraja temple at Chidambaram are registered in inscriptions. The geographical information furnished in some of the inscriptions of the Chola kings is of great interest. Seals of the Pallava grants offer an interesting study of the royal emblems of the days. A majority of the 1,150 inscriptions in the Tirupati temple are in Tamil ranging in date from 850 to 909 A.D. The Śrīrangam temple has about 300 inscriptions, the Chidambaram temple 215, the Tanjore temple 100, and the Kumbhakonam temple has 50 Tamil inscriptions. These records especially the earlier ones are highly important, for the interesting information which they afford regarding the ancient administration of the country by the village and divisional assemblies which is very useful to the students of Indian Polity. Similarly the two Tamil inscriptions engraved on the wall of the Vaikuntha Perumal temple at Uttaramallur in Chingelpat district the one dated in the time of Dantivarman (c. 782 A.D.) and the other in the time of Kannardeva (964 A.D.) registering the regulations made by the *Sabhā* (Village Assembly) about certain administrative matters deserve to be specially noted (E.I. 24. 28).

The Tamil inscriptions have contributed immensely to the growth and richness of Tamil literature. They are generally very long and composed with great learning and skill. The Tiruvellari inscription of the time of Dantivarman (E.I. 11. 134) is a typical instance of gnomic poetry. The terms used in special senses in the Tamil inscriptions are so numerous, the vocabulary is so rich, the expression so elegant and the diction so dignified that Tamil literature has been generally enriched by the inscriptional literature. The imperial Cholas (850-1200 A.D.) and the Pandyas (1200-1300 A.D.) who were among the greatest patrons of Tamil literature were responsible for a large number of Tamil inscriptions (*Shivrammurti, Ind. Ep. and S.I. Scripts*, p. 54). The Tamil inscriptions of the Chola king Rajaraja I on the walls of the Tanjore temple are important for the technical perfection of their engraving and the detailed picture they give of the entire scene of the great temple.

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The Tamil inscriptions are very useful for tracing the Sanskrit influence in the Tamil country. A large number of grants show how the North Indian Brahmanas migrated to the country, how regular provision was made in every important place for the daily exposition of the Vedas, the Epics, Puranas and other Sanskrit classics and how Sanskrit Colleges were opened through out the country where excellent provision was made for the study of Sanskrit.

Telugu Inscriptions

During the early centuries of the Christian era all the inscriptions found in the Andhra country were written either in Prakrit or in Sanskrit. In the Prakrit and Sanskrit inscriptions the personal names and titles of the villages seem to be in the local language. But no inscription in the language is found. The Nagas and after them the Andhras were ruling over the country immediately before and after the beginning of the Christian era. There is reason to believe that their language was Prakrit since inscriptions of the Andhras or the Satavahanas found in other parts of South India are in Prakrit.

Purely Telugu inscriptions begin to appear from the end of the sixth century. The earliest completely Telugu inscription is the Kalmalla inscription of the Telugu Chola king Eriçala Muturaja Dhananjaya dated in the last quarter of the 6th century A.D. (E.I. 27. 221). Some of the inscriptions give information about the arts like Music, dancing and painting and about festivals and pastimes pursued by the people. The language of the early Telugu inscriptions has very little in common with the present day Telugu.

The approximate number of Telugu inscriptions discovered so far may be 8,000.

They are mainly published in Volume 10 and along with other inscriptions in Volumes 4 to 8 of the South Indian Inscriptions Series and in a corpus of inscriptions in the Telangana District of Hyderabad State and other publications.

The following royal dynasties in Andhra Desh from the 7th to 17th century A.D. are mainly represented in the Telugu inscriptions.

Eastern Chalukyas	— 7th to 11th Century A.D.		
Western Chalukyas	— 10th to 12th	”	”
Telugu Pallavas	— 10th to 13th	”	”
Vaidumbas	— 6th to 9th	”	”
Kakatiyas	— 11th to 14th (1323 A.D.)		
Vellama Kings	—		
Pallavas of Nellore	—1050-1300		
Chodas	— 12th to 14th	”	”
Reddis of Kondendu	— 13th to 15th	”	”
Velanandu Chiefs	— 12th to 13th	”	”
Early Cholas of Renandu	— 6th to 8th	”	”
Chhindas	—		
Bānas	— 7th	”	”
Eastern Gangas	— 7th to 12th	”	”
Chālukyas of Elamanchili	— 1150-1599		
Velugoti	— 14th to 15th	”	”
Kota Chiefs	— 11th to 13th	”	”
Gajapatis	— 15th to 16th	”	”
Vijayanagar Rulers	— 14th to 17th	”	”
Nayakas of Matsya Family	— 13th Century A.D.		

The Eastern Chalukyas, Kakatiyas and Telugu Chodas were particularly helpful for the large use of Telugu inscriptions.

The great importance of the Telugu inscriptions lies in the fact that they constitute the earliest records in Telugu literature. The earliest extant Telugu work is of Nannaya who lived in the 11th century A.D. No literary work of pre-Nannaya days is discovered. So we have to depend upon available epigraphical writings in Telugu for our knowledge of the early Telugu.

Of the important Telugu inscriptions the following may be mentioned. The Bezwada inscription on the back of a monolithic Dwarpalaka, an excellent example of an early Chalukya work, reads Veginathu Velandu meaning (Servant of the Lord of Vengi) in Telugu letters of the 7th century A.D. (Ind. Ep. S. I. Scripts, p. 54). The Addanki inscription describing the exploits of the E. Chalukya king Pandurang of about the middle of the 9th century A.D., is probably the earliest Telugu inscription in verse. There is a great predominance of prose inscriptions in Telugu. The Korvi inscription of the time of Chalukya Bhim of about the end of the 9th century A.D., offers the standard prose

of the time of Nannaya. The language and the prose style comes very near that of the modern style. The famous Muddhamalla inscription in Bezvada is in Telugu poetry of the 10th century A.D. The Chodas who were ruling in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were great patrons of Telugu literature. The well-known Telugu poet Shrinath who was an Education Officer in the Reddi kingdom is mentioned as the composer of a Telugu inscription.

Kannad Inscriptions:

Though the antiquity of the Kannad language seems to go back to the beginning of the Christian era as literary fragments in the language are discovered in an Egyptian Papyrus discovered at Onyahyneus in lower Egypt, and as some Kannad words are found used in the Nagarjunikonda inscriptions, the earliest Kannad inscription so far found is dated 450 A.D., and is found at Halmedi in Kanara district. Next in date come the Tagara plates of Potavira of circa 550 A.D., the Badami Cave inscription of Mangalesa of 575, the Godachi plates of Kirtivarman of 578 and the Kigga inscription of Chitravahana. The literary texts in Kannad are of a late date, the earliest one viz., the Kavirajamarge being dated Circ. 877 A.D.

The approximate number of Kannad inscriptions discovered so far may be 26,000, at least 16,000 of them being from the Mysore State. The Kannada inscriptions are published in E.I., I.A.E.C. and S.I.I. Vols. IX and X., B.R.A.S.

The following royal dynasties are represented in the Kannad inscriptions:—

Minor Dynasties

Gangas of Mysore	—	7th to 8th Century A.D.	
Alupas	—	7th to 11th	" "
Vaidumbas	—		
Banas	—	4th to 8th	" "
Nolamba Pallavas	—	8th to 10th	" "
Santaras.	—	8th to 12th	" "
Kongalva Chiefs of Mysore	—	11th to 12th	" "
Other Chiefs of Mysore	—	15th to 20th	" "
Rattas of Saundatti	—	10th to 12th	" "
Later Kadambas of Vanavasi,			
Hangal and Goa	—	11th to 13th	" "
Kalasa Chiefs	—	11th to 14th	" "

Guptas	— 11th to 13th	”	”
Sindas of Erambargi	— 11th to 12th	”	”
Chengalvas	— 11th to 17th	”	”
Nagire	— 14th to 17th	”	”
Haduvalli	— 14th to 17th	”	”
Keladi Chiefs	— 15th to 17th	”	”
Ikkeri Chiefs	— 15th to 17th	”	”
Sonda Chiefs	— 15th to 17th	”	”
Kalachuryas	—		
Cholas	—		
Guttas	—		
Ummattur Chiefs	—		
Changalva	—		

Major Dynasties

Śāṅkayanas	— 5th		
Chalukyas of Vengi	—		
Kadambas of Vadjayanti	—		
Early W. Chalukyas	— 6th to 8th	”	”
Rashtrakutas	— 8th to 9th	”	”
Later Chalukyas	— 10th to 12th	”	”
Kalachuryas	— 11th to 12th	”	”
Yadavas	— 12th to 14th	”	”
Hoysalas	— 12th to 14th	”	”
Vijayanagar rulers	— 14th to 17th	”	”

The Vijayanagar empire represented by three succeeding dynasties from 1357 A.D. contributed greatly to the stock of South Indian inscriptions. The inscriptions of these rulers amounting to more than 2,000 are mainly in Kannad though some are in Telugu and in Tamil.

The Western Chalukyas and Hoysalas particularly favoured the use of Kannad inscriptions. Kannad inscriptions of the Western Chalukyas which contain the expression इति राजवर्णनं give indication as to how inscriptions were drafted. The first section contains an invocation, the second contains a description of the king, and the third contains geographical description commencing with the mythological origin of the earth, Meru mountain, Bharatvarsh, its sub-divisions, mountains, districts etc., and ending with that of the village granted. All this is described in classical verses.

DRAVIDIAN OR SOUTH INDIAN INSCRIPTIONS 181

Kannad inscriptions are noteworthy for their neat and artistic engraving. The material on which they are inscribed is carefully dressed and smoothened. Dr. Fleet has written a very important article in the *Indian Antiquary* on the flowery lettering in Kanerese inscriptions. There are several Kanerese inscription in which the engravers like Sovarasi have drawn special attention to their skill in engraving artistic letters (E.C. 11/47). The inscriptions at Ablur in Ton Taluka of the Dharwar District which are of Vikramaditya VI and belong to the twelfth century A.D. are very beautifully engraved. (E.I. 5. 213).

Kannad inscriptions in general and those of the Chalukyas, Rashtrakutas, Yadavas and Hoysalas in particular are in themselves excellent specimens of literary compositions. Some of them composed by renowned poets and poetesses read like little Champu Kavyas. (E. I. 13-326, Archl. Mem. No. 13). The Talangere inscription of the 10th century which contains a verse in the Utsāva metre is of unique value in the history of Kannad Metrics, as it is the only instance of the kind. (E.I. 29. 203).

The Hyderabad Karnatak is a very rich area being the scene of the great events in the ancient history of Karnatak. The capitals of the major Kannad dynasties like those at Malkhed, Kalyan, Parbhani, Bodhan etc., who have left a large number of Kannad inscriptions were situated in this part of Karnatak, so if a more careful epigraphical and Archaeological survey of this region is made it is very likely that we get thousands of new Kannad inscriptions which will add to our stock of knowledge.

Curiously enough a Kannad inscription of the time of the Rashtrakuta sovereign Krishna III of Malkhed (937-965) written in South Indian characters is found at Jura in Maihar State in Bundelkhand which has all along been a Hindi knowing district. (I. My R. Soc. Jan. 1930).

Malayalam inscriptions:—

Inscriptions in the Malayalam language are comparatively very few. They are found in Kerala and sometimes in the Pandya country. They begin to appear from the beginning of the 10th century A.D. before that time the Tamil language had been used for the inscriptions in those regions. The earliest completely Malayalam inscriptions is on the Kōṭṭayam plates of Sthanu-Ravi

(T.A.A.S. 2. 62), assignable to the beginning of the 10th century. The Kotai Ravi inscription comes next in point of date. The Malayalam inscriptions are published in Travancore Arch. Surv. Vol. 1 to 7; in S.I.I. Vols. 5 and 7 and in some other Journals.

The inscriptions as a whole dated from the 10th to the 13th century A.D. provide a fairly rich variety of linguistic data (A. C. Sekhar, Bull. Decc. College, P.G.R.I. 1951, p. 11). The popularity of Sanskrit studies can be seen in them. The earlier inscriptions are written in the Vaṭṭeluṭṭu script.

The dated inscriptions are few. The dates are generally in the Kollam era which began in 825 A.D. This era is frequently accompanied by the Cycle and the Kaliyuga era which began in 3102 B.C. These eras are mentioned e.g. in Kielhorn's List 944, 945, 947—961. The earliest inscription dated in the Kollam era is of the year 149 (E.I. 9. 264).

The inscriptions pertain mainly to the temple affairs but a few of them like the two Koṭṭayam plates of Sthanu Ravi and the Cochin plates of Bhaskara Ravivarman which record grants in favour of the Jews and the Syrians of Cochin respectively are of secular interest (I.A. 20. 280, E.I. 3. 67). The Kottur Maṭha copper plates of the last quarter of the 12th century contains a voluminous record. The Trivandrum Gośāla Krishna bi-lingual inscription of Goda Marttāṇḍa is another interesting record. The most important rulers mentioned in the inscriptions are Sthanu Ravi, Indu Koṇḍai, Śrīvallabha Koṇḍai, Bhāskara-rāma, Ravirāma, Udaya Martanda, Viraramavarman, Kondamārtāṇḍa, Raman Keralavarman, etc.

A Note on the Kalabhras

By

K. R. VENKETA RAMAN.

In the Tamil country a long historical night set in after the close of the Śaṅgam age until about the beginning of the 7th century. The only historical incident that has come to light relates to the complete subjugation of the Tamil country by a tribe called Kaḷabhra, who overturned not only the political system of the land, but also the old social order. And about them practically very little is known. Who were the Kaḷabhras? Where did they come from?—are questions that have not been answered so far.

The earliest Tamil record that mentions the Kaḷabhras is the Vēlvikuḍi grant of Pāṇḍya Jaṭila Parāntaka Varaguṇa, also known as Māraṇjaḍayan and Neḍuṇjaḍayan, restoring the village of Vēlvikuḍi to the descendants of the original owners, who had earlier received it from a Pāṇḍyan king of antiquity—Mudukuḍumi. The Kaḷabhras, during their occupation of the Pāṇḍyan country had deprived the owners of their village.

Line 39 of the grant reads *aḷavariya atirājarai ahala nēkki ahala idattai kaḷapran ennum kali araśan kaikkonḍu*. The Kaḷabhra who conquered Madurai is described as a *Kali king*, who had uprooted countless monarchs. *Kaliaraśan* has generally been translated as 'wicked king', but the late Krishna Sastri suspected that the reference was to a dynasty. That there was a dynasty called *Kalikula* is evident from line 8 of the Kopparam Plates of Chāḷukya Pulakēśin II, though Hultzsch, not suspecting that a dynasty of Kali could have existed and obsessed with the notion that kali meant wickedness, tortured about two lines in the text and substituted *Kali khalānām*, for *Kalikulānām*. The plain meaning of lines 8 and 9 of the grant is: Prithivī Yuvarāja, who having defeated by the prowess of his arm the circle of enemies,—his arm which was a churning stick to the kings of the Kalikula. . . .

We also hear of a *Kali era*. I was much surprised that the author of a brochure published in Mysore identifies the Kalki era

of the north with the Kali era of the south. The Gupta power in Western India declined towards the close of the 5th century, and Kalki is alleged to have ruled after the Guptas for 42 years. This is a Jain tradition; this ruler whom they call Chaturmukha Kalki was a tyrant who persecuted the Jains. Pathak identifies him with Mihirakula, and K. P. Jayaswal¹ with Vishṇu Yaśōdharma. Jayaswal goes further and avers that he answers to the Kalki avatara of the *Purāṇas*, born to rid the land of the non-Vedic cults. After a critical examination of the Digambara and Śvētāmbara traditions and the writings of Jīnasēna, Guṇabhadra and Nēmichandra, H. B. Bhīde of Bhavnagar² points out the discrepancies in the different accounts and concludes that Kalki was not a historical personage—neither Mihirakula nor Yaśōdharman, but the creation of a tradition that after every 1000 years after the Jina, a Kalki appears, and after 500 years an Upakalki. However it may be, it is a far cry from Malwa and Western India to the Kannada country. That a Kali era *was* prevalent in the South is obvious. The consecration of the colossal statue of Gommaṭa in Śravaṇabelagōla, for instance, is dated in that era:

Kalyabdē śaṭchatakyē vinuta vibhava samvatsarē māśi caitrē
pañcamyām śuklapakṣe dinamaṇi divasē kumbhalagnē suyōgē /
saubhāgyē mastanāṃni prakāṭita bhaganē suprasastām cakāra
śrīmacchāmuṇḍarājō bēlagulanagarē gōmmaṭēśa pratiṣṭhām //

(*Bāhubalīcarita*—V. 63)

It is known that Chāvuṇḍarāya erected this Statue of Gommaṭa in 983; the Kali era may be taken to have commenced 600 years earlier, about 383 (4th century).

There was also a cult of *Kalidēva* in the Kannaḍa country. A Kannaḍa inscription³ registers the grant of 12 *mattar* of land by Rēchidēva for the eightfold worship with camphor, saffron and sandal of the blessed feet of the Lord Kalidēva and the Jīna at Baṭṭakere. The cult spread to north Kannaḍa where it was prevalent till the 11th century, as an inscription at Kōlūr,⁴ dated in the reign of Sōmēśvara I, will testify. The inscription records

1. *I.A.*, XLVI (1917).

2. *I.A.*, XLVIII (1919).

3. *E.I.*, XV, p. 343.

4. *E.I.*, XIX, pp. 180-2.

an endowment of land and houses to the temple of Kalidēva by two vassals Rājaguru and Kaliammaraśa. The name Kaliammaraśa, Kaliya for short, occurs in a number of inscriptions⁵ as belonging to the Jīmūtavāhanānvaya, bearing the serpent standard (*pannāgadvaṇṇa virāṇu*) devoted to the worship of Padmāvatī (*Padmāvatī labdhā vara prasāda*) and adorned with the dust of the pollen of Jīna's lotus feet (*Jīna pāda paṇkajā rājaḥ puñja piñjarita gātra*). Men belonging to different walks of life took the name of this deity. We hear of a Kalidēva⁶ making an endowment. Another Kalidēva^{6a} is referred to as a poet. A Kalidēva Śetti^{6b} is described as the Samayachakravartin seated in the *vajra baisanige* in the Banañju town of Kurumbetta. These instances will suffice to show the wide prevalence of the cult for some centuries. The monks of this cult belonged to the Aḍḍa Kaligaccha of the Valahāri gaṇa (*Aḍḍa Kaligaccha nāma valahāri gaṇa pratīta vikhyāta yaśāḥ*).⁷

So much for *Kalikula*; and now for the term *Kaḷabhra*. The Chikka-betta, or the smaller of the two hills in Śravaṇa-belagōla, was designated in old Kannaḍa inscriptions *Kaḷavappu* or *Kaḷabappu*—the Samskrit form being *Kaṭavapra*. A local tribe called *Kaḷabhōra*, is referred to in a very old inscription,⁸ from a village in the Bēlūr taluk not far from Śravaṇabelagōla. Here the Kadamba king Kākustha (c. 425-450) is said to be the enemy of the Kalabhoras (*Srīmat Kadamba parityāgasampannan Kaḷabhōrāna ari*). The Pāli and Prākṛit form is *Kaḷabba*, which in Tamil became *Kaḷabhrrar*, *Kaḷappar* or *Kalappālar*. Mahāvidvān M. Raghava Iyengar has pointed out that this Tamil rendering is similar to the following:—*andaṇar*, *andaṇālar*; *aruvar*, *aruvālar*; *vēl*, *vēlālār*.

One historical fact may be deduced from this record. During the first half of the 5th century, the region round Śravaṇabelagōla, Bēlūr, etc., had passed into Kadamba hands. Later this region came under the sway of the Western Gaṅgas. The Kōvalevettu

5. Cf. Kolur and Devageri inscriptions, *E.I.*, XIX.

6. Kadamba inscription at Nirālgi.

6-a. At Lakshmeshvar (Puligere).

6-b. *E.I.*, XIX, No. 4.

7. *E.I.*, VII, p. 187.

8. Halmidi (Belur) (Museum, Mys. Arch. Office) M.A.R. 1936, No. 16.

grant of Diṇḍiga,⁹ ruler of Kaḷabappu Nāḍu, records a grant made with the consent of the Western Gaṅga king Śrīpurusha. Another inscription—this one from Śravaṇabelagōla, states that Diṇḍiga and queen Kampitā witnessed the passing away of a great Āchārya. And Chikkabeṭṭa or Kaḷabappu thenceforward came to be called in inscriptions Chandragiri, Tīrthagiri and Rishigiri, and the old name was forgotten.

Dislodged from the region of Sravanabelagola, the tribe seems to have moved eastward and settled down in the region comprising the modern districts of Bangalore, Kolar and Chittoor. A *vīraga*¹⁰ in Hoskote taluk tells us that this region was called Kaḷavaranaḍu evidently after the Kaḷavar or Kaḷabhrar. The names Kaḷavaranaḍu and Kalināḍu, that this region bore, seem to have lingered in the memory of successive generations for some centuries later. E.C., X, Chickballapur, 9, tells us that Nandi was situated in the Kaḷavaranaḍu and E.C., X, Chintamani, 9, also mentions Kaḷavaranaḍu and E.C., IX, 97, Kalināḍ. The groups of villages mentioned in these records belong to this region. On the strength of a verse¹¹ in praise of Achyuta, a Kaḷabhra King, Mahāvidwān, M. Raghava Iyengar puts forth a suggestion that the home of the Kaḷabhras must have been the Nandi Hills in Kolar district, and his suggestion seems to be amply borne out by the inscriptions.

The Kāśākūḍi plates of Pallava Nandivarman include among the enemies of his ancestor Simhavishṇu (575-600), the Kaḷabhōra, who are juxtaposed with the Malayas, Maḷavas, Chōḷas and Pāṇḍyas. Again the Kūram plates of Narasimhavarman mention this order—the Chōḷas, Kēraḷas, Kaḷabhras and Pāṇḍyas. The Nerūr grant of Chāḷukya Vikramāditya II has the following—‘*Pāṇḍya, Chōḷa, Kēraḷa, Kaḷabhra prabhṛti-bhūbrid.*’ The Harihar grant of Vinayāditya mentions Pallava, Kaḷabhra, Kēraḷa. Though it may not constitute a valid ground for forming a definite conclusion, it is however not without interest to observe that the Kaḷabhras are mentioned between the Pallavas and Kēraḷas. These inscriptions, how-

9. Mys. Arch. Report, 1927, No. 118, Mandya Taluk.

10. E.C., IX, Hoskote 13.

11. *perumpuhalachchutakkōvē nāndi māmalai silamba
nāndi nīrpāvutal nāvālarkkarite*

quoted in the

Yāpparaṅgalavritti

ever, make it clear that the Kaḷabhras held sway over this region till about the beginning of the 8th century, when they were finally liquidated; and their territories were included in the Chālukya and Western Gaṅga kingdoms.

From this region, which was their homeland from about the 5th century, if not earlier, the Kaḷabhras must have marched into the Tamil country.

Peaceful migrations and armed incursions from the Kannaḍa country to South Tamilnāḍ have been frequent from time immemorial before the Kāḷabhra incursion. The Kurubhas from the South Kannaḍa country migrated to the region south of the Palni hills and gave it the old name of Panṛināḍu. The commentary on *Tolkāppiyam* narrates that Agastya brought with him 18 septs of Vellāḷars with a Vēl or chieftain at the head of each, some of whom after a sojourn in the modern state of Mysore spread themselves all over the South. Even as early as the 3rd or 2nd century B.C., Jain monks were sent from Śravaṇabelagōla to the South, and their followers were to be found all over the Tamil land as far south as Nagercoil, and they studded the land with monasteries. They grew enormously in number and influence and established the Jaina Saṅgam at Madurai about A.D. 470 with a network of branches and monastic establishments spread far and wide. The Tamil Jains continued to look upon Śravaṇabelagōla as the principal seat of their religion. The hills of Śravaṇabelagōla are full of epitaphs recording the visits of the monks from the south. The peaceful penetration of Jaina monks prepared the way for the incursion of warlike tribes. Śēkkiḷār recalls one such incursion of a predatory chief from a region in Kannaḍa situated in the midst of impenetrable forests.¹² The chief captured Madurai where he suppressed the daily worship in the temple of Sundarēśvara. Mūrti Nāyanār, whose service consisted in preparing sandal paste for the anointment of the God, was deprived of the means of rendering this pious service. The chief died without heirs; the ministers sent round the royal elephant with a garland which the lordly animal threw round the neck of Mūrti Nāyanār, who then assumed the rulership of the State. Venkayya is disposed to identify this Purāṇic story with

12. *kānakkuḍi śul vaḍugak karunādar kāvan .
mānappadai mannan varindu nilangoḷvānāy*

the invasion of the Kaḷabhra king, but the details of this *Periṇṇaḷ purāṇam* story totally differ from what the Vēlvikuḍi grant narrates. The Kaḷabhra occupation of Madurai lasted for a pretty long time, and it was terminated by Kaḍungōṇ. This story may, however, relate to an earlier incursion.

The initial date of the *Kali era* must be placed in the last quarter of the 4th century. Early in the 5th century, the Kaḷabhras of the Kalikula had settled in the region from Bangalore to Chittoor. We may, therefore, assign to the Kaḷabhra conquest of the south some date about the middle of the 5th century.

The story of the Kaḷabhras, as gleaned from the records mentioned above, may be summed up in a few words. Dislodged by the Kadambas from their earlier home round about Śravaṇabelagōla, they moved east and carved out a kingdom, which included Bangalore, Kolar and parts of Chittoor district which came to be called after them Kalināḍ, or Kalavarnāḍ, and from there they spread out into Toṇḍaināḍ, Chōlanāḍ and Pāṇḍināḍ overthrowing the long-established Tamil monarchies.¹³ They occupied Madurai some time after the reign of Mudukuḍumi—how long after, we do not know. The 'Saṅgam epoch' had already closed and was followed by a period of darkness. The faineant successors of Mudukuḍumi were perhaps too insignificant and inept to be celebrated in song. One such king was slain by the Kaḷabhras. The Chōlas were in a state of hibernation and easily went under. There is a gap in the history of Kāñchī. The Pallava kings of the Samskrit charters prior to Kumaravishṇu had lost possession of Kāñchī and confined their rule to the Telugu districts wherefrom they issued their charters. The interregnum in Kāñchī commencing roughly from A.D. 436, perhaps marks the Kaḷabhra occupation of Tondaimaṇḍalam, which was finally terminated by Simhavishṇu.

It would, therefore, appear that Tamilnāḍ was under the Kaḷabhras for the best part of the period—5th to 6th centuries A.D., and the final debacle was brought about by the Pāṇḍya Kaḍungōṇ and the Pallava Simhavishṇu; each stands at the beginning of a powerful line of rulers. This was by no means the end; they were still a power in their homeland which was repeatedly attacked by

13. *aḷavariya atirāsaraiyahala nīkki*,

the Pallavas from the east and the Chālukyas of Bādāmi and their feudatories from the north till they were liquidated.

The assumption is forced upon us that more than one family of Kalabhras ruled over the Tamil land. A Kalabhra ruler in Tondaināḍu was designated king of Kaḷandai. He was Kurruva Nāyanār, one of the 63 canonised Śaiva saints. Śēkkiḷār speaks of him as *Kaḷandaivēndar-Kaḷappālanāhiya-Kūrruvan*. He approached the *muvāyirattār*, the hereditary trustees and priests of the Chidambaram temple, to invest him with the Chōḷa crown. Three old stanzas reproduced in *Yapparunḡalakkārikai* and the colophon in Buddhadatta's Thēravāda manual in Pāli, *Vinayavinichchaya*, refer to another ruler Achyuta Vikrānta (*Kaḷabbakula Achchutavikkanta* in Pāli). He ruled over the Chōḷa country and liberally patronised Buddhism. The Chief, who occupied Madurai, was a Jain. Long after the Kalabhras passed out of history, some Kaḷappālars continued to be mentioned in Tamil inscriptions of a much later century and they were men of no importance—petty officials mostly in the *nāḍus* and *kūrrams* of the Chōḷa kingdom.

The Inscriptional Term 'Muvendavelan'

BY

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In numerous inscriptions of the Cola times the curious title, '*muvendavelan*' appears and scholars, so far as I know, have not yet established its meaning and import. Unless that is done or at least attempted many of the official dignitaries whose names occur in these records will remain without proper explanation with regard to the posts they held. Even Prof. K. A. N. Sastri who has done so much to clarify the administrative system of the Colas has not probed into this question; and he writes:

"These *adigarigal* often described themselves by the name of the ruling sovereign followed by the phrase *muvendavelar* and it is often impossible, as a result, to detect their personal names, and unless particular care is taken, one is apt easily to mistake one officer for another with similar or even identical titles."¹

To my mind the term seems to refer to a class of people who were considered as *adhikaris* fit for high administrative jobs. It would also appear that this class of men had attained to a very high degree of efficiency as a result of age-long training. It is to this the first part of the term '*muvenda*' or '*muvendu*' pointedly refers, signifying the service of this class of officers under the well-known three reigning dynasties of the Tamil country—the Cera, Cola and Pandya. Perhaps the emphasis is here more to the Pallava than the Pandya, since at the time when the term first begins to appear the Pandyan empire had not come into being. The second part of the term gives the explanation with regard to the caste from which these officers were selected.

1. Sastri; Colas II, i, pp. 238-39.
J, 11

To what Tamil caste does the term, 'velan' refer? Most obviously it seems to refer to the Vellala; but not if it is derived from the term 'vellam' meaning 'water', as some writers contend. Fortunately, however, it is possible to establish beyond doubt that the caste name, 'Vellala' does derive from the root, 'vel', meaning "one who gives", a giver. In fact from the first centuries of the Christian era all our available records point only to this that the Vellalas were the great donors of South India. The poems of the Sangam times as also later day inscriptions refer only to the Vellala as the great giver of all times.² In fact this very functional connection between the two sets of people, the 'vel' and the 'vellala' must help us to operate a junction between the two. There is no doubt that the 'vel' of the Sangam age and the 'Vellala' of later times are one and the same caste-men; and it is only under this supposition it is at all possible to identify the term 'velan' mentioned in the inscriptional records. Grammatically also the transition from 'vel' to 'velan' and finally to 'vellalan' or 'vellala' is not only understandable but also reasonable.

If these conclusions are accepted it is easy to see a new meaning in the term '*muvendavelan*'—the Vellala who had established a reputation in royal service under different kings beginning from the Pallava onwards. We must remember that the General Paranjoti under Narasimhavarman, the Siriya Velar of the Cola times and the famous Alumbil-Vel of the early Cera rulers all must have belonged to the same caste or community from which high administrative officers were drafted during the Cola days under the title '*Muvendavelar*'. It is curious how in ancient India even more than to-day a class of administrative nobility began to spring up and a kind of steel-bound system of official class answering more or less to the modern civil service system was evolved. It must be remembered that this caste was mainly of Vellala extraction. It is this prominence of the caste that may have led in later times to the rise of the Mudaliyar community, as it is known to-day, literally meaning "those who are the first" (*Muthal* meaning first). The Mudaliyars are also Vellalas and perhaps take their origin particularly from this administrative class here described as '*Muvendavelar*'.

2. Arokiaswami; *Early Hist. of the Vellar Basin*, pt. i.

In the following table a few representative inscriptions ranging over fifty years from 1000 A.D. roughly are gathered to indicate the frequent references to Velan and the Muvendavelan, the varied positions they had occupied in the administrative set-up of the times and the numerous generous donations for which they get mentioned in these records.

Name	Designation	Donation	Approximate Date	Source
Sriyavelar	General	Grant of land for feeding learned Brahmans.	964	S. I. I. III, iii 255.
Nittavinoda Muvendavelan	Royal Officer	Gift of gold for tali and ear ornaments of god.	1037	ARE., 1921-'22
Vanavan Muvendavelan	- do. -	Land for conducting Margali festival and maintaining a feeding house for devotees.	—	Id. p. 12
Perumakkalur udaiyan Velan	Native of Gangaikondacolapuram.	Wreath of precious stones for the goddess.	1010	op. cit., 1919-20, p. 45.
Name not known	A Vellala of Ilamangalam.	Gift of land for bringing water from the river.	—	op. cit., 1923-24, p. 15.
Koyilmayilai alias Parantaka Muvendavelan	Chief	Land for expounding Pra-bhakara.	975	S. I. I., III, iii, 367-77.
Kuditangiuran alias Parantaka Cola Muvendavelan	Headman of Arkkadu	Daily supply of flowers to god.	1021	ARE., 1920-21, p. 43.
Colakula Karana Muvendavelar	Revenue Officer.	Gift of tax on oil mills for lamp to god.	1054	op. cit., 1912-13, p. 40.

Sultan-Quli Qutbu'l-Mulk, The First Ruler of Medieval Tilangana

PART III

Qutbu'l-mulk as a Man and as a Ruler

BY

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Hyderabad, Deccan

(Continued from J. I. H., April 1956, p. 31)

Qutbu'l-mulk arrived in India when he was in the prime of his life and spent more than sixty years in this country, finally succumbing to the blow of an assassin. Although he belonged to a noble family of Persia and was a descendant of a line of kings he was personally an entirely self-made man and it was by dint of a great will power, perseverance and tact that he rose to the highest dignity in the Deccan. Except for the last seven or eight years of his life he was practically always in the saddle, and even when he was past the proverbial three-score-and-ten he knew no rest, was never weary, never despondent. He was a firm believer in God's Grace, and at Panagal and elsewhere, even when there were odds against him, he was known to prostrate before God to give victory to His humble servant, even while fighting was in progress and was in its critical stages.

Difficulties he had to face

It must be remembered that the period of Qutb'l-mulk's rule was one in which the states of South India were ruled by some of the ablest administrators and generals, such as Purushotam of Orissa, Krishna Dēva Rāya of Vijayanagar, Ismā'il 'Adil of Bījāpur, Burhān Nizāmu'l-mulk of Aḥmadnagar and Shitāb Khān of Warangal. Each one of them was a match for the ruler of Tilangānā, and it redounds to Qutbu'l-mulk's ability that he could withstand their opposition and was successful in moving the borders of the small *taraf* of Golkunda as he found it to the shores of the Bay of Bengal. When the fort of Kovilkunda was invested by

Ismā'il 'Ādil with the connivance and help of Vijayanagar Quṭbu'l-mulk knew that the odds were against him, and when he consulted his advisers they were unanimous that he was outmatched and the best thing would be for him to withdraw. But Quṭbu'l-mulk was made of a different mettle and was not the man to give way so lightly. He once told his advisers that he had never in his life relied on mere numbers and he must oppose the military alliance entered into by his enemies at any cost. In vivid contrast to the machinations of his enemies he never allowed himself to hit his enemy at the back. It was a matter of a common occurrence with him that he approached the enemy with a definite offer, and it was only when that offer was rejected that he had recourse to an appeal to arms. This habit of a peaceful approach to an enemy was made irrespective of whether he was a Hindu, a Muslim, an erstwhile friend or a rebel. Thus when the rebel Qiwāmu'l-mulk was given an asylum by Daryā 'Imādu'l-mulk of Berar, Quṭbu'l-mulk was no doubt touched to the quick, but he first asked 'Imādu'l-mulk to expel the rebel, and only when this was refused that he marched to the Berar border. Even when the opponent was a rebel like Harīchand of Nalgunḍa, he was first asked to lay down his arms, and it was only when he received a negative or an evasive reply that an attack was ordered. We see him informing the commander of the fort at Khammamēt that his chief, the rebel Shitāb Khān, had already been subdued, and it was no use shedding human blood any more. Although Quṭbu'l-mulk would never accept defeat he treated the rulers of the Deccan well, and "his policy was not to make enemies but rather to settle things by peaceful means as far as possible".¹¹² But he was not to be duped into submission either, and when he found that those in his entourage had been bribed to intercede on behalf of the enemy Harīchand he refused to be played into the meshes of such conspiracy and ordered the bombardment of the fort.

Impression of Quṭbu'l-mulk on his Contemporaries

It was no doubt due to his human feelings that he was admired by all who came in contact with him. As an instance we might cite here the views of the Telugu poet Addanki Gangādhara Kavī who says in his *Tapatī Samvaranōpākhyānam*: "It is fit to praise

¹¹². *Fer.*, II, 168; quotation from *Bur.*, 50.

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him who has conquered four hundred hill forts and has so brilliantly commanded armies.... (It might be said without fear that) Qutb Shah is full of the highest qualities".¹¹³ This eulogy sounds rather queer in the face of certain reports that he razed to the ground a number of temples at Ghānāpūr,¹¹⁴ while after the battle of Palankchipūr he is said to have erected one thousand mosques in place of temples he demolished at Konḍāpalli.¹¹⁵ Now, to say the least this can only be the grossest exaggeration. For there could not have been many temples in a small place like Ghānāpūr, and it is unthinkable that he should have erected as many as one thousand mosques in a small town like Konḍāpalli. Except in the case of rebellions like those of Shitāb Khān and Harichand, who were prone to raise their banners against Orissa and Vijayanagar as much as against Qutbū'l-mulk, he was always forgiving to his enemies, and the episode of the permission he gave to the garrison of Konḍaviḍu to march out with honour after the fort had been captured is a case in point. He was of course sometimes hard on the enemy especially when they were callous or treacherous in their behaviour, but this was an exception to the treatment he generally showed to those who opposed him. On the other hand our authorities furnish us with at least one instance of the confidence he had in his non-Muslim countrymen. During one of his campaigns he seems to have reduced certain districts on the Tilangānā-Vijayanagar frontier, and he actually appointed a Vijayanagari, Rāmarāj, who was later to make a mark in the fortunes of Vijayanagar, his deputy in the occupied districts which were actually contiguous to the Southern State. Rāmarāj acted as Sultān-Qulī's lieutenant for three years, and was dismissed only when Qutbū'l-mulk began to suspect him of cowardice when he fled back to Golkunda in the face of some foraging bands sent

113. Full quotation in K. V. Krishna Rao's *Indian History*, in Telugu, p. 210; also see *Andhra Kavula Charitram* by Kandukari Viresilligam Pantulu, pp. 117-119. This has been quoted by Prof. Hanumantha Rao in his article, *The Qutb Shahi Kings of Golconda*, *Journal of Dakkan History and Culture*, I, 1, p. 51, n. 3. The whole quotation, which is of 6 distiches, has been very kindly translated for me by the learned professor, and it deals mostly with Qutbū'l-mulk's conquests "in the north, south, east and west" and his great qualities as a general.

114. Q.S., 61.

115. For Rāmarāj's early life see Heras, *The Aravidu dynasty of Vijayanagara* (henceforward *Aravidu*), ch. 1; *Sources*, p. xiii; Briggs, III, 380; Q.S., 109.

there by Ismā'il 'Ādil of Bijāpūr. Rāmarāj thought it better for him now to leave Tilangānā and sped his way to Vijayanagar where he was greatly honoured by Krishna Dēva Rāya, who gave him his daughter, Tirumalāmba, in marriage. It was a case of broadmindedness like the employment of a possible adversary like Rāmarāj and the power to inculcate loyalty in him while he was in service, which must have impressed those who came in contact with him, and must have made persons like Gangādhara Kavī sing praises for him.

There is another facet of his tolerant policy, and it is in the liberal education he must have given to his son Ibrāhīm. During the harsh rule of his brother Jamshīd, Ibrāhīm thought it prudent to leave the State and take refuge elsewhere, and it is remarkable that it was Vijayanagar and not a state with a Muslim ruler to which he found his way. It is also significant that he had, as one of his entourage, a person named Kānōji, evidently a Maharashtrian, with him. Ibrāhīm was well received at Vijayanagar and remained there for seven years during which he developed a taste for Telugu language and literature, which he patronised when he ascended the throne of Tilangāna. All this was hardly possible if Ibrāhīm had been brought up in a narrow, intolerant atmosphere by his father.

We can therefore aver that the reports of Sulṭān-Qulī's intolerance and his harsh treatment of his enemies which have been handed on to us by our Persian chroniclers must be tested with the other data which we have before they are believed. They are always prone to exaggerate the losses sustained by the enemies of the rulers many times in order to raise the strength of their patrons and their ancestors in the estimation of their contemporaries, and this was possible for them to do as there was a large gap of time between the events they recounted and the time when their chronicles were compiled.¹¹⁶

His Diplomatic Talent

Before passing on to Quṭbu'l-mulk's strategy and his unique position as a war leader it would be profitable to deal with certain aspects of his diplomacy as gleaned from the data we possess. It

116. Ibrāhīm and Vijayanagar, Briggs, III, 381; we will have more of this aspect of Ibrāhīm's life when we come to his reign.

For an instance of exaggerations, which abound, see *Bahmanis*, p. 437.

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has already been noted and discussed how he allowed the state of Vijayanagar to be weakened by internal causes after the great Krishna Dēva Rāya's death before launching his general attack on Tilangānā and the Bay littoral. The result was that he did not have to face any great power but only local chiefs and a very weak and declining Vijayanagar. Not content, however, with his commanding position he made his position doubly secure by allying with Pratāp Rudra of Orissa against the possible confederacy of these chiefs.¹¹⁷ The order that he gave to the Nāyaka of Konḍaviḍu to change places with the Nāyaka of Ghanpurā really took the wind off the sails of the insurgents and may be regarded as a first class diplomatic move. In the same way when Shāh Ṭāhir was sent by Burhān Nizāmu'l-mulk to mediate between Quṭbu'l-mulk and 'Alī Barīd, Quṭbu'l-mulk took advantage of the occasion and demanded the cession of Kōhīr which made Golkunda safe in the west as it had been made safe in the east by his brilliant campaigns in the Godavari-Krishna doāb.

As a Military Leader

This leads us to the consideration of Quṭbu'l-mulk as a military leader and a strategist. He was aware that he had to face a very strong opposition in all quarters, and in order to offset the strength of the enemy he had an almost invariable recourse to the method of keeping a fresh possee of infantry or cavalry in reserve, so that in case there was a stalemate these fresh troops should come into the field and turn the scales. This we find in battle after battle, and the strategem was rewarded by an almost continuous series of victories to his arms. We find two thousand horse turning the scales at the battle of Rāmgīr against Daryā 'Imadu'l-mulk of Berar, one thousand and five hundred jumping into the fray at the battle of Panagal against Vijayanagar and two thousand called upon to enter the arena at the great battle of the Godāvarī which resulted in the final recapture of Konḍaviḍu. Had it not been for the system of keeping an effective reserve at hand it is difficult to see how Quṭbu'l-mulk could have succeeded with just twelve thousand carabineers when his opponent Shitāb Khān had "thousands of gunmen", elephants and infantry under his command.¹¹⁸

117. See note 66 above.

118. Q.S., 70.

While he was without doubt reckless about his own comfort and person and led assaults and escalades even when others younger than him would lose all energy (such as the general assault on the great fortifications at Bidar and the escalade at Bēlamkonda which was held by Shiṭāb Khān), he was careful enough to make the position of his army secure before he made any advance. Thus it was only after he had strengthened the fortifications of his capital Golkunda that he advanced to the east,¹¹⁹ and when he found that Konḍaviḍu was guarded on either side by Bēlamkonda and Vēnukunda, instead of rashly spending his energy on Konḍaviḍu he postponed his attack till he subdued these two strong places. When he was forced at last to retreat in the face of a powerful enemy he had recourse to the modern method of scorched earth such as in the case of Konḍaviḍu when it had to be evacuated in the face of a strong Vijayanagar army. Even in such a contingency he would not rest and sometimes adopted guerilla tactics in order to tire out the enemy, as in the struggle against Isma'il 'Adil. He had no patience with any underhand tactics on the part of an enemy; thus when he came to know that Raja Harichand, who held Nalgunḍa fort, had laid a plan to murder him when he went to meet him unattended, he ordered his own army to be alerted, and before the Raja could do anything the Golkunda forces which were hidden in an ambush, made short work of the defenders.

Thus as a military commander and a master of strategy Quṭbu'l-mulk had few equals among his contemporaries. He was surrounded on all sides by actual or potential enemies, but it was through his power of perception and quick decision as well as his long view that he finally overcame all obstacles. As has been related above, he passed the last eight years of his long life at peace with God and man. His objective of reaching the natural limits of Tilangānā had been partially secured in his lifetime and he left the task of unifying the whole of the Bay littoral under one sceptre to his successors.

Shi'ism

Although Quṭbu'l-mulk belonged to the Qara Qūvinlū well-known for their Shi'ism, a creed which was perhaps

119. Q.S., 54.

120. For the gradual introduction of the Shi'ite doctrine in the Deccan see *Bahmanis*, pp. 146, 190-1, 397, 410 n. 98, 411 n. 99.

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fanned by the fact that their opponents, the Aq-Qūvinlū happened to be Sunnīs, this cannot be said to have influenced either his loyalty to the Bahmani throne or his general policy. As has been discussed elsewhere Shi'ism had been slowly creeping into the Deccan ever since the influx of the *āfāqīs* in the fifteenth century, and Fīroz Shāh Bahmanī as well as his son 'Alāu'd-dīn Aḥmad I were definitely inclined towards it. The tendency gathered strength with the passage of time till Shihābu'd-dīn Maḥmūd, though remaining a sunnī after the tradition of his ancestors, seems to have had a definite leaning towards the priority of 'Alī over his three predecessors in the Caliphate.¹²¹ Quṭbu'l-mulk, whatever his antecedents, had so much identified himself with the Deccan as he found it, and adopted its ways of life, that he thought it is duty to be loyal to the reigning dynasty as long as it existed.¹²² It was when the Bahmani centre had become palpably weakened and Shi'ism proclaimed the state religion first of Bijāpūr and then of Aḥmadnagar that Quṭbu'l-mulk also took steps to spread the creed in his dominions as well. As he is himself quoted to say, it was only after the accession of that great Shi'ah Shah Ismā'il Ṣafawī to the throne of Iran in 1501 that Sultān-Qulī introduced the Shi'ah *khutbah* and gradually replaced the names of the three Caliphs by the name of the twelve *imams*. This was in accordance with the programme laid down by him immediately on his arrival in India, for he is quoted as making a promise to God that if He were to grant him authority over a country he would introduce the *khutbah* of the twelve *imams* in his dominions.¹²³ It was no doubt out of respect for the greatest Shi'ah monarch of his day, Shah Ismā'il, that his name was introduced as well. Shi'ism was thus established as the religion of the Quṭb-shahīs and went on flourishing till the sceptre passed from them to the Mughals after the fall of Golkunda by the Emperor Aurangzēb, but it has nevertheless left an indelible mark of the life and customs of Deccani Hindus as well as Muslims whether Shi'ah or Sunni.

121. See *Bahmanis*, 411, n. 99.

122. See n. 57 above.

123. Quotation from Ṣadr Jahān's *Marghūbu'-Qulūb* (which book is not available) in Q.S., 51-52. Also see *Quṭbīyah*, 19-20. The Shi'ah *khutbah* was introduced for the first time at Bijāpūr in 1504, and it must have been sometime after that date that it was introduced in the Golkunda-Tilangānā,

Architecture

Shī'ism, naturally, had an effect on the sacred architecture of the period, though it was not so marked in the time of Sultān-Qulī. Strange as it might seem, while Tārīkh-i Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh ascribes the construction of thousands of mosques to Sultān-Qulī,¹²⁴ there is only one solitary mosque which is certain to have been built by him, and that is the small Masjid-i Ṣafā, later called Jami' 'Masjid, just outside the Bālā Ḥisār Darwāzā of Golkunda Fort. The mosque is a very handsome structure constructed according to the approved Bahmani pattern with a single dome in the centre and another small dome crowing the gateway reminding one of the much larger structure which serves as the gateway to the Shāh Bazār Masjid at Gulbarga. What is remarkable is that the commemoration tablet, which is dated 924 and contains the names both of Shibābu'd-dīn Maḥmūd Shāh Bahmanī and of "Sultān-Qulī, known as Quṭbu'l-mulk", has absolutely no reference to the Shī'ite creed whatever. But the roofed prayer chamber of the mosque, which is itself divided into four lateral paises, opens out into the courtyard by five beautiful, well-proportioned, arches, reminiscent, perhaps, of the five pillars of the Shī'ite religion, namely, the Prophet, 'Alī, Faṭimā, Hasan and Ḥusain.¹²⁵

The plan of the Golkunda fort, as it exists today, owes its execution to a large extent to Sultān-Qulī. As has been mentioned above, he strengthened the structure by circumvallation and large, strong gates before he proceeded to the conquest of the Bay littoral. It is said that the Fort was constructed on a site where an older Kākatiya fort stood, but that the name of Golkunda was

124. Q.S., 76.

125. It is a pity that very few structures in the Golkunda Fort have been properly surveyed so far, and as a matter of fact till very recently, when the Fort was taken over by the Indian Archaeological Department, practically the whole fort was overgrown with wild trees and grass which made any exploration impossible. It is hoped that the Union Government will take early steps to have the old palaces not merely conserved but measured and photographed as well. All that is in print regarding the general appearance of the mosque is in connection with the inscription on the gateway published by Dr. Yazdani in *E.I.M.*, 1913-14, p. 47. I have not been able to find the measurement of any monuments in the Fort in the Reports of the Hyderabad Archaeological Departments. Q.S., 54, is obviously wrong that the mosque was built *after* the so-called declaration of kingship by Sultan-Quli, as the inscription belies it.

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given to it by Sultān-Qulī after the Telugu word Golcar or shepherd as it was a shepherd who is said to have pointed out the site to him. But we know from our authorities that the name given to the Fort by Sultān-Qulī was Muḥammadnagar, and in any case it was not necessary for a shepherd to have pointed out the older structure, as the fort with its central summit, the Bālā Ḥisār, rises to a height of nearly four hundred feet from the ground level and can be seen for miles round.¹²⁶ Besides the great wall which is three miles in circumference and is pierced by eight gates and broken by eighty-seven bastions each with a distinct name,¹²⁷

126. Sha Rocco, *Golconda and the Qutb Shahs*, p. 5. The author has quoted de Thèvenot's *Travels*; for this see *The Indian Travels of Thèvenot and Careri*, New Delhi, 1949, p. 137. Actually, the word for shepherd in Telugu is *Golla*, or Shepherd (caste) the collective noun derived from it being *Gollavaru* or a number of shepherds, softened into *Golvar* or *Golear*. It appears that Thèvenot wrongly wrote *Golcar* for *Golear*. Golkunda simply means the Hill of the Shepherds, for the sparsely inhabited country round the hill was, used in early times as a vast grazing ground for the shepherds of the locality.

M.A., 301, says that the old name of the place was *Mankal*. It is possible that this was the corrupted form of the name of the Manakali temple which existed in a small cave on the way up the hill to the right long before the Mughals captured the fortress.

I must express my indebtedness to Prof. M. Hanumantha Rao, former professor of history at the Nizam College, for having given me some of the information contained in this note.

127. Bilgrami, *Landmarks of the Deccan*, 109; Bilgrami and Wilmott, *Historical and Descriptive Sketch of His Highness the Nizam's Dominions*, pp. 510-16, gives a fairly detailed description of the great fort as it stands today. As has been said in n. 125, quite recently the palaces of the Qutb Shahs had been left entirely uncared for, and the only part of the fort which a visitor could reach was the Bālā Ḥisār; but now, since the Union Archaeological Department has taken it over, practically the whole area has been cleared and one can see the vestiges, however indistinct, of the splendour that must have been Golkunda in the heyday of its glory. This as well as the short and excellent description of the Fort and its contents in Sir Jadunath Sarkar's *History of Aurangzeb*, IV, 357-59, treat with it as it exists today, and it is difficult to pick out the buildings erected by Sultān-Qulī, or even their sites. I can do no better than quote the description of the Fort from the pen of that doyen of Indian historians which, as he says, is based on his personal observations in October 1916. He says:

"Some 160 yards north of the Musi river, lies the fort of Golkonda, the impregnable stronghold of the Deccan. . . A strong cranallated wall of granite, over four miles in length and of vast thickness, surrounds the fort, which is further defended by 87 semi-circular bastions, each from 50 to 60 feet high and built of solid blocks of granite cemented together, some of them weighing

there is little left of Sultān-Qulī's palaces or the mansions of his nobles which have been so much eulogised by our chroniclers,¹²⁸ as they have all been replaced by later structures by his successors. While Sultān-Qulī ordered the nobles to build their mansions within the Fort he did not lose sight of his poorer subjects, and the large bazars and the period structures, large and small, which are still to be seen between the Bālā Hissār Darwāzā and the Faṭḥ Darwāzā are reminiscent of the wealth of the city which was destined to be the undisputed metropolis of the Deccan for more than two centuries. Sultān-Qulī is said to have built a fine *ḥammam* or public bath by the side of the Jami' Masjid, and it is said that those who took their bath there were not merely given

a ton. . . . Golkonda really consists of four distinct forts joined to each other and included within the same line of circumvallation. The lowest of these is the outer-most enclosure into which we enter by the Faṭḥ Darwāzā near the south-west corner; it is a vast tract covered with mansions of nobles, bazars, temples, mosques, soldiers' barracks, powder magazines and even cultivated fields . . . Proceeding inside along the grand main road for some 1250 yards from the Faṭḥ Darwāzā, and leaving a set of rather later palaces, harems and offices on a low site on the right, we arrive at the Bala Hissar Gate which leads us, over a flight of steps, to a higher area with exceedingly lofty and strong walls and containing a capacious three-storied armoury, magazines, stables, mosques, audience chambers, harems, gardens, large wells and steps, and even two *serāis* and a temple of the monkey-god! Further west, some 200 steps cut in solid rock lead the traveller up to the very apex of the fortress, the Bālā Hissār (or Upper Fort), standing on a bed of solid granite, its walls being formed by huge boulders with here and there connecting curtains and parapets that tower far overhead. This is the citadel of the citadel, the kernel of the whole fort; and here the early Dravidian Rajahs of the land had built their first stronghold, by filling the gaps in the natural rocky walls with mud and rough stones, and here their rude ancient temples cut into the rock still stand. In this Bālā Hissār the Quṭb-Shahi kings had erected a two-storied palace, the roof of which commands a free view of the environs for miles and miles around. Here they could have retired as a last resource, for it contains, in spite of its great height, a well and powder magazine and numerous granaries. . . . hollowed out of solid rock. The western face of the Bala Hissār is a steep scarp, between which and the outermost wall on that side, the plain is broken by three long granite spurs running westward, and present to the eye a bare uneven desert . . ."

It will be noticed that the learned historian has nowhere indicated the progressive erection of the buildings under different Sultāns.

128. Such as Q.S., 55, Qādir Khān Bidrī, *Tārīkh-i Qādirī*, Asafiyah, *Tarikh* 409, p. 217, *Qutbiyah*, 221.

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free service but were also presented *lungīs* or printed towels of the finest variety.¹²⁹

As Sir Wolseley Haig says, Sultān-Qulī "was endowed with that peculiar sympathy for ultra refinement in art and literature which belonged to the Persian temperament",¹³⁰ and it was he who laid the foundation of the style of architecture named after the Quṭb-shāhī dynasty. It should, however be noted that the "eclectic" principle of the mixture of the Persian, Hindu and Paṭhan styles¹³¹ was to be evolved after his death. The mausoleum which he constructed for himself stands in strong contrast with the adjoining tombs of his successors by its fine proportions and its simplicity of design. The tomb itself, 30' 10" square, is built on a platform 100' by 100', and while the exterior is octagonal the outer elevation is square with walls rising to 20 feet and crowned by a dome which goes up another 20 feet.¹³² The four corners of roof are ornamented by four bouquets after the fashion of corresponding Bahmani structures. Apart from the inscription stating the name, title and the date of the death of the deceased which are inscribed in three bands, there are four bands covering the Throne Verse of the Qur'ān and the Shi'ite *durūd* containing the names of the twelve *imāms*. All these inscriptions are engraved in beautifully polished basalt in the finest *naskh* writing.¹³³ There are three other graves in the mortuary chamber and twenty-one other graves of fine basalt on the platform outside.

Here mention should be made of two wash-houses, one near Sultān-Qulī's tomb and the other just inside the Bālā Hīsār Darwāzā in the Fort itself. Both these places were meant for washing the dead bodies of royal personages, the former for the males and the latter for the females of the royal house.¹³⁴ The

129. *Quṭbiyah*, 224.

130. *C.H.I.*, III, p. 637.

131. Yazdani in *E. I. M.*, 1915-16, p. 21.

132. Bilgrami, *Landmarks*, 115; *E.I.M.*, 1915, p. 26.

133. *E.I.M.*, 1915-16, p. 26; *Sha Rocco*, p. 52.

134. I have not been able to find the description anywhere of the *zenana hammām* just within the Bālā Hīsār Darwāzā of the Fort on the eastern side of the grove which was destined to see the last stand of the Quṭb Shāhī forces against the army of Aurangzēb in 1686.

Langar-Faiṣ-Aṭhar was the name given to the compound in which the Quṭb-Shahi tombs are situated. It is related that every evening hundreds of the poor and the needy were fed here at the expense of the reigning monarch. See Bilgrami, *Landmarks*, p. 116.

ḥammām for males is a part of the Langar-Faiz-Athar which is definitely mentioned as having been constructed by Sulṭān-Qulī himself, while the other is almost its replica on a smaller scale, and according to the local tradition, this was also built by him. Both wash-houses are built in fine style with provision for hot and cold running water and the drains for the flow-out of dirty water and refuse. Perhaps the most remarkable thing about these *ḥammāms* is the circular platform in the centre of both with twelve beautifully inlaid patterned wavy raddi jutting out from the centre, reminding one of the twelve *imāms* of the Shī'ite creed.

The Man

In short, this architect of a State which encompassed the Deccan for more than two hundred years, was a man of remarkable qualities. A devout, God-fearing man of religion, he was first and foremost a military leader and a strategist, and it was by dint of his courage and his strong will-power that he was able to carve out a principality which grew to be a kingdom, by uniting a large part of the Andhra-dēsa under one sceptre and left this world in the fulness of time at peace with man and God.

There are at least three portraits of Sulṭān-Qulī extant, one single and the other two in groups. In the group paintings he is depicted as seated on a raised seat with his successors seated on both sides making a kind of circle with him at its head. The composition of the groups thus shows that they must have been painted more than a century and a quarter after his death. In one of the group Sulṭān-Qulī is shown as a handsome young man about twenty-five years of age, fair of face with a closely cropped beard, slightly stout but of a well-proportioned gait, one foot partly crossed on the seat or throne, the other resting on the ground. He has sword held resolutely in his left hand, while it touches the ground. As a matter of fact the white straight sword happens to be the very centre of the whole composition and is very prominent. He has a long, flowing garment of striped cloth of gold fully buttoned up in front and seemingly padded. On the head he has an exotic Central Asian cap with three aigrettes. The inscription on the top indicates that it is the portrait of Ghāzī Barē Malik, the same as appears on his tombstone, with the epithet 'pādshāh' and 'God have mercy on him' added on.

SULTAN-QULĪ, RULER OF MEDIEVAL TILANGĀNĀ 207

Here it may be mentioned that the title of Pādshāh was never borne by any of the Quṭb-Shāhs.¹³⁵

The other group must similarly be posthumous as it also represents Sultān-Qulī as sitting in the company of his successors right up till the very end of the dynasty. This portrait of Sultān-Qulī and his single portrait are so similar that one may well have been a copy of the other, and both of them are so life-like that there is no doubt that they represent Sultān-Qulī as he actually was towards the end of his long and eventful life. Here we find him a venerable old man, fairly thick-set, with determination and perseverance writ large on his face, and with a broad forehead furrowed with old age. His dress consists of a Central Asian cap similar to the one above described but with just one aigrette in the middle and a long coat buttoned up and embroidered at the collar (which is perhaps the ancestor of the modern Hyderabad *shairwānī*, now the accepted official dress of India). He has a belt girdling his waist with long embroidered ends gracefully hanging in front and has his hand holding his sword with a determined grip. The portrait is that of a man with a remarkable physiognomy and with determination writ large on it in spite of his hoary age and clearly shows off the personality of one who was destined to be great leader of men and an architect of a great kingdom.¹³⁶

Unfortunately we have no data regarding the administrative reforms affected by him, and in all probability he maintained the

135. The original portrait group depicting Sultān-Qulī as a young man is in the Hyderabad State Museum and has been reproduced in colour (Pl. I) in the booklet, *Hyderabad, Art, Archeology and Handicraft*, prepared as a catalogue of an exhibition which was opened at the Hyderabad House, New Delhi on 10-4-1952. The group has Sultān-Qulī as the central figure flanked by five persons on each side. The name of Sultān Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh is repeated in respect of two persons while two portraits are not named at all and the face and name of one, possibly those of Abu'l-Ḥasan, the last ruler of the dynasty, has been perhaps intentionally obliterated. Subhān-Qulī, the boy ruler, does not appear in the group at all in the same way as he does not appear in the group which represents Sultān-Qulī as an old man described later. The whole composition is in a distinctly Deccani style and has a verse of the old Dakhnī-Urdu forming a part of the ornamental border. The period of time which elapsed since Sultān-Qulī's youth must have been nearly two hundred years.

136. A copy of this portrait group will be found in T. Irvine's English translation of Manucci's *Storia do Mogor*, Vol. III, opposite p. 314. The central figure is that of Sultān-Qulī who is seen seated on a raised seat under an

administration of Golkunda-Tilangānā much as he found it. He was essentially a military leader, and it is not likely that he carried out any reforms in the government of the country under his rule. But the fact that the state which he founded could be at peace both within and without during the last seven or eight years of his extreme old age leads us to the conclusion that the country was well governed and the foundations laid of a centralised administration which was the harbinger of an almost proverbial prosperity.

umbrella with three of his successors seated on his right in a semi-circle and three seated on his left; the boy ruler, Subhān-Qulī does not appear in the group at all. The words *Barā Malī*, perhaps in the handwriting of Manucci himself, no doubt stand for *Bare Malīk*, are inscribed just above the umbrella; for this epithet please see note 58 above.

The English translator of the work says in his Introduction (Vol. I, p. lii) that the portraits contained in the work are from the collection of portraits in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris (*Cabinet des Estampes*, O.D., No. 45 'Reservé'). The volume is labelled outside, *Histoire de l'Inde depuis Tamerlenk jusqu'à Orangzeb, par Manucci*. "The two pictures, one of the kings of Golkundah and the other of the kings of Bijāpūr, strike one as very life-like and probably also authentic." As an introduction to these portraits Manucci says: "Before I left the Mughal dominions (that is, before 1686), to satisfy my curiosity, I caused portraits to be painted of all the kings and princes from Timur Leng to Aurangzeb . . . together with the portraits of the rulers over Bijapur and Golkundah . . . The artist was a friend of mine, Mīr Muḥammad, an official of the household of Prince Shah Alam, and all were copied from the original in the royal palace." Blochet justly says in the *Catalogue des Manuscrits persans à la Bibliothèque Nationale* that the paintings are "d'une splendide execution."

I regret that I have not been able to find the source of the solo portraits of the first two rulers of Golkunda which have been reproduced so beautifully in the copies exhibited in the Salar Jang Museum of Hyderabad and which have been further reproduced extensively in various English, Urdu and Telugu magazines. Unfortunately the late Nawāb Sālār Jang has left no reference to the source of these portraits. I enquired from Dr. Motichandra, Director of the Prince of Wales Museum at Bombay as well as from Dr. P. M. Joshi, Director of Bombay Archives whether they had an original portrait of Sultān-Qulī in their respective collections, but I receive only negative replies from them. The British Museum has original portraits of later Quṭb Shāhs, their ministers and generals, in various albums which have found a place in the Museum (for which see Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, II, Add. 5264, Add. 22,282, and Add. 15,526, and Supplement, No. 411) but they do not happen to have the portraits of the early rulers at all. I shall be obliged if some of the learned readers of this Journal were to throw some light on the problem.

Lawless Brigands as Soldiers of Freedom in the Great Revolt of 1857

By

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Some of the recently discovered Mutiny papers of Fatehpur District in U.P., reveal the interesting fact that during the Mutiny days hundreds and thousands of erstwhile dacoits suddenly abandoned their usual criminal pursuits and turned into patriotic rebels so as to fight the British Government. This transformation of lawless men is an interesting feature which should compel attention at the present day.

I have recently examined these papers in connexion with my work as Secretary of the Uttar Pradesh Committee, History of Freedom Movement in India. I find that these papers are extremely important and should attract the notice of historians.

In a letter written by Mr. W. G. Probyn, officiating Magistrate of Fatehpur, on October 1, 1857, it is reported for the first time that on the night of twenty-ninth and thirtieth September a band of about four hundred dacoits attacked and burnt the house of a loyal Qanungo. This is the beginning of a series of incidents in which the dacoits of the Fatehpur District figured as patriotic fighters.

In several subsequent letters of this Magistrate such incidents are narrated. He points out in a letter of October 24, 1857, that the local Police were absolutely unable to suppress the attacks of the "turbulent men." Because of the hostile activities of these dacoits, the whole of the western part of the district was in a chaotic state and law and order were non-existent. The Magistrate says, "badmashes" are increasing in number and impudence and the Police are not strong enough to put them down."

Depredations of these unorganised dacoit-rebels increased from day-to-day and the Magistrate reported towards the end of

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October, 1857, that the whole district was affected and that the "badmashes" were proving too powerful for the Police. "It is a physical impossibility," he confessed with regret, "to bring this district into order without the aid of a few regiments." "The Police are quite unable to cope with the "badmashes." At some places there were gatherings of five to ten thousand dacoit insurgents under the leadership of some dacoit leaders. It appears that some of the dacoits were successfully prevailing upon village after village to join them against the British. Mr. Probyn writes on October 8, 1857, that a large number of villages turned hostile "at the Pergunnah Elanka." This was because of the considerable influence wielded by the dacoit leaders.

The records indicate that the most prominent dacoit-rebel was Jodha Singh, who, with some of his close followers was at last captured by the British troops on April 28, 1858, at Khujooa (letter from Mr. W. G. Probyn, dated May 1, 1858).

Another influential dacoit leader was Maharaj Singh, who is mentioned prominently in the Magistrate's letter of October 27, 1857. The Magistrate relates that on one occasion this brigand chief fought with a large Police force "for some hours" and forced it to retire. These dacoit chiefs had heavy guns in their possession. The records also show that with the help of these guns the dacoits could attack and set fire to the houses of loyal Tehsildars and Thannahdars of villages. The Police guards were throughout helpless against them. There is no doubt that these dacoits were able to set the British Government at defiance for a fairly long time and they were able to create a general disorder in the countryside.

The dacoits were finally crushed when a superior military force surrounded them from different sides and prevented their escape across the Ganga into Oudh. Adequate information is not available in the official documents with which to reconstruct the story of the patriotic resistance of the dacoits, but, enough details are available which show that, swayed by the contemporary outburst of patriotic feeling, even dacoits who are termed "badmashes" by the local Magistrate rose against the British Government and made a futile endeavour to drive it out from the country. In any case, that dacoits could become patriots overnight amply demonstrates the popular character of the Mutiny Movement in some parts of the country.

Reviews

REFORMERS IN INDIA—an account of the work of Christian Missionaries on behalf of Social Reform 1793-1833 by K. Ingham.

This study provides a lucid account of the contribution made by the Christian Missionaries to social reform in India from 1793 to 1833. The book is, however, more commendable for the manner of its treatment of the subject matter than for any new material brought to light. In fact the subject has been elaborately traversed by several outstanding writers like Hough James, Kaye, O'Malley and Sherring in the course of their general treatises on the history of Christianity in India. What Dr. Ingham has attempted is a restatement of the handicaps faced by the early missionaries as well as an assessment of the motives and results of the missionary effort in respect of social reform.

The author opens his book with the complaint that the policy of social reform initiated by the Christian missionaries is not given its due recognition at present while great emphasis is laid upon the activities of the Brahma Samaj, Arya Samaj and the Congress Party. But this charge is hardly sustainable, for students of the modern period of India History are well aware of the substantial work done in this direction by the Missionaries, though as Dr. Ingham handsomely recognises, all their activities of social reform were undertaken as aids to their primary objective of spreading the Christian religion.

The difficulties which the Missionaries had to face were many and varied. There were restrictions imposed by the Court of Directors, handicaps enforced by the India government and finally opposition by the people of the land. For instance, John Marshman, the evangelist was pelted with stones when attempting to preach in a village near Serampore and appeals against him were made to the judge of the District by Brahmans. Christian converts were treated with far greater violence. But it must be observed that these occurrences were rather exceptional; the opposition of the people did not assume an organised form.

The author of the book seems to have overemphasised the lack of support on the part of the Company's Directors and of the Governor-Generals in India. The Directors were naturally keen on dividends and any course of action likely to hamper trade was viewed by them with serious disfavour. Their attitude is perfectly understandable. Similarly the early Governor-Generals were for the most part neutral in their attitude to evangelism. This, again, was the most expedient policy to be pursued by administrators. It is widely known that in respect of the Vellore Mutiny as well as of the Great Indian Mutiny of 1857, the mere suspicion that the British aimed at proselytisation was a basic cause of the risings. If the early British administrators had gone out of their way to support Christian evangelism, in all probability the conflagration would have appeared earlier and completely uprooted the rising power of the British.

Dr. Ingham has furnished a vivid account of the services rendered by the Missionaries in the cause of Indian social reform. Despite the severe handicaps the Missionaries set about their work with great zeal and they sought to remove social evils like sati, human sacrifices, 'hook-swinging' and other cruel practices. Though success was slow, the beginnings made now yielded substantial results in due course. Attempts were made in removing child marriage as well as the seclusion of women but little was achieved for some time in this direction. On the constructive side perhaps the most valuable service rendered was the spread of education. This service was of supreme importance, for at that time there existed no other agency which catered to this vital need. Education, both for boys and girls, was provided by the Missionaries in various parts of the country, overcoming all the initial obstacles. There is little doubt that the contribution of the Missionaries to Indian education between 1793 and 1833 was invaluable in initiating and laying the foundation for future developments.

Moreover, on the wake of their educational effort, the Missionaries produced translations of several books from English into Indian languages and vice versa. Dictionaries and works of grammar were produced. Medical aid of the Western pattern was provided in numerous places and the unstinting devotion of Missionaries in this field enhanced their reputation in no small measure. Even the improvement of agriculture received a keen attention at the hands of Missionaries. The versatile and indefatigable

gable William Carey was the pioneer in this sphere. He compiled a classified natural history of Bengal, delivered lectures at Serampore college on English farming, founded an Agricultural and Horticultural Society in India and above all urged that in choosing future Missionaries experience of farming was to be one of the essential qualifications.

Thus it is undeniable that the labours of the Christian Missionaries were at once varied and abiding. The beginnings made by them during the period 1793 to 1833 were developed further by later Missionaries as well as by indigenous organisations of social reform. But unquestionably the lead was given by the early Missionaries and the pioneer work and the creative schemes of William Carey, Claudius Buchanan and of numerous others, whose names are less famous, stand out in their bold originality.

It is but fair to remember that the bold beginnings made in the direction of social reform would have led to little permanent result but for the later labours of indigenous organisations like the Seva Sadan, Harijan Sevak Sangh and the Indian National Congress. A recognition of this inescapable truth implies no ingratitude to the authors of the early beginnings.

'Nagercoil' has been consistently misspelt in the half a dozen places it occurs in the book. The Map showing the Protestant Missionary stations in India during the period under study, along with the carefully prepared Map Index, is useful. The Bibliography is exhaustive.

K. K. PILLAY

PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE RELATING TO THE ANGLO-SIKH WARS by Dr. Ganda Singh.

On the British policy which finally led to the annexation of the Punjab divergent views have been held. Certain writers, glossing over inconvenient facts, have justified the aggression on ground of expediency, while others have bitterly condemned the British for their unscrupulous intervention in the affairs of the Punjab disregarding the assurances in the past. Ranjit Singh had

been an unwavering ally of the British and the Treaty of Amritsar was as much beneficial to him as to the British at a critical juncture. But at heart both parties had their own misgivings. Ranjit Singh had realised that the British were only biding their time. Disgusted with their duplicity Ranjit Singh once told an old Christian Missionary, Rev. Dr. Joseph Wolff: "You travel about for the sake of religion; why then do you not preach to the English in Hindustan, who have no religion at all?". Not less pungent is his sarcastic remark addressed to the same Missionary: "One can come nigh unto God by making an alliance with the British Government as I lately did with Laard Nawab Sahib (i.e. Governor-General) at Roopar." It is not maintained that Ranjit Singh was a paragon of political virtue, and several British administrators have had bitter things to say about him.

One reason responsible for such divergent views not only on Ranjit Singh but on the later events connected with the two Sikh wars is the fact that all the records pertaining to the annexation of the Punjab have not been laid bare. Certain letters and records which were likely to throw unfavourable light on the policies and personalities concerned in the Sikh wars were deliberately suppressed. For e.g. Lieutenant (later on Major-General Sir) Herbert Edwardes, the hero of Multan in his private letter of October 23, 1848, has complained about the suppression of his own despatches as well as those of Edward Lake by Lord Dalhousie, the Governor-General of India. Nor were official despatches always dependable. Harry Lumsden, referring to the unreliability of official despatches of war which recommend all sorts of honours for inefficient and undeserving old officers, wrote to his father on August 8, 1846: "I begin to lose faith in all despatches, as when matters take a disagreeable turn, it seems to be that some officers do not hesitate to draw on their own imaginations." (p. 10).

Obviously, therefore, the more diversified the sources of information the greater is the chance of getting nearer the truth. Dr. Ganda Singh has done a piece of signal service to students of Anglo-Sikh relationship by collecting and publishing the hitherto unpublished correspondence pertaining to them. The correspondence of Sir Frederick Currie which Dr. Ganda Singh has now placed before the public is of immense help in the proper assessment of the events and personalities of the epoch. Sir Frederick was Foreign Secretary to the Government of India in 1845-46, a

member of the Supreme Council at Calcutta from April 1847 to January 1848 to the end of January 1949. Thus he was the proper official who could receive both officially and privately detailed data regarding the second Anglo-Sikh war. Among his correspondents were the highest civil and military authorities, the Governor-General of India, Sir Henry Hardinge and Lord Dalhousie and the Commander-in-Chief, Lord Hugh Gough and a clever team of political assistants in the different posts and theatres of war. The correspondence deals with the period of British Residency in the Punjab and the Anglo-Sikh war of 1848-9. It provides exhaustive information regarding the circumstances which led to the important treaty of Bharwal of 1846, and the later developments which ultimately led to the annexation of the Punjab. There is little doubt that this correspondence provides an excellent corrective to the one sided and garbled versions which were available through the official despatches and records of the Government of India.

Prof. Ganda Sahib, Director of Archives to the Pepsu Government, and an authority on the history of the Punjab, has in his scholarly Introduction clearly brought out the conclusions which emerge from the correspondence. Though rather long, the Introduction is lucid and readable. Besides photographs of the leading personalities he has reproduced Facsimile of the letter of Lord Dalhousie to Brig. Mountain and of another letter of Maharani Jind Kaur to John Lawrence. The book will be a valuable addition to all the libraries of Colleges, Universities and Research Institutes.

K. K. PILLAY

FORT WILLIAM—INDIA HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE, Vol. XVII, 1792-95, Edited by Y. J. Taraporewala and Published by the National Archives of India, 1955, pp. 576, 16 illustrations.

The Government of India decided in 1942 to have the Fort William—India House Correspondence, 1748-1800, published in 21 volumes edited by eminent scholars under the General Editorship of the Director of Archives. The fifth volume was published in 1949 and the present volume is number XVII of the proposed

series. This volume contains the correspondence pertaining to the Foreign, Political and Secret Departments during the years 1792 to 1795. It is gratifying to find that most of the letters which are known to have passed between the East India Company's authorities in England and India during the period are included in the volume. Those letters which were not available among the records at Delhi have been obtained from London through the kind courtesy of the Commonwealth Relations Office. Unfortunately, however, a few of the Secret letters among those known to have been despatched by the Court of Directors are not now traceable. They would perhaps reveal interesting and significant facts, for it is clear that the secret correspondence often throws light on the subtleties of the policy pursued.

The letters published in this volume relate to the diplomatic and military history of the East India Company during an important epoch in the formative stage of the British power in India. The correspondence is of considerable interest for scholars engaged in research on the establishment of British power in India and on the history of local dynasties like those of Mysore, Maharashtra, Hyderabad, Arcot and Tanjore.

Among the Indian rulers of the time who figure in the correspondence Tipu of Mysore stands out most prominently. It was during this period that an important stage in the British conflict with Tipu was reached. War with Tipu had already commenced in 1790. Lord Cornwallis who had begun his Governor-Generalship with a firm determination to adopt a policy of non-intervention, was compelled by the force of circumstances to embark on a war against Tipu. At every stage, however, Lord Cornwallis kept himself in communication with the Directors and the correspondence reveals the British diplomatic relations with Tipu, the strategy adopted in the war and the terms of the treaty concluded with him on 22nd February 1792. Besides, there are references to the disputes which arose over the fulfilment of the terms of the treaty. Questions like the payment of war indemnity and the release of the prisoners of war formed subjects of correspondence. The letters clearly disclose the suspicious attitude of the Company towards Tipu in the matter of fulfilling the terms of the treaty. In reality there was little justification for that attitude. However, the Company apprehending danger, wanted to counteract it by maintaining unimpaired the Triple Alliance

against Tipu. This attitude provides the keynote of the Company's external policy with the South Indian powers during this period.

The correspondence throws light on the Company's relations with the Marathas, especially with Mahadaji Sindhia and Nana Phadnis, with the Nawab of Arcot, the Raja of Tanjore, the Raja of Travancore, the Nawab Vizier of Oudh, and with the rulers of Assam, Nepal and Burma. The British Company's relations with the other European powers in India, like the French, Dutch, Portuguese and Danish both during peace-time and after British hostilities had broken out with the French and Dutch, are disclosed by the correspondence. Far more important for the student of Indian history is the light thrown on the general administrative problems of maintaining peace and order in the conquered territories. In particular, the troubles which arose from the Polegars in the Carnatic, from the pirates in the Coastal region and from illicit traders in the different parts of the country as well as the measures adopted by the Company to overcome them are all mentioned in the letters. The complicated systems of land tenure prevalent in Malabar and the experimental measure of quinquennial settlement of land revenue are other matters which appear in the correspondence. On the whole, the volume is bound to prove a useful source book for the history of the period. However, it cannot but be observed that the authorities of the Company both in Britain and India, have made little reference to the social or cultural life of the people, largely on account of their preoccupation with military diplomatic and administrative questions.

The Editor has provided a suitable introduction to the volume, indicating the outstanding matters dealt with in the correspondence. A list of the Presidents of the Board of Control, the Chairmen and Deputy Chairmen of the East India Company, the Directors of the Company and also of the Governors of the Presidencies during the period is furnished. The Notes provided at the end of the volume are helpful in explaining the technical expressions in the text. The Bibliography indicating a list of books of reference for the history of the period is very valuable.

K. K. PILLAY

STUDIES IN THE LITERATURE OF ASSAM by Suryya Kumar Bhuyan, M.A., D.Litt., with a Foreword by Sri Sri Prakasa, Lawyer's Bookstall, Guhati, Assam, 1956. Pages xvi 169, Price Rs. 6/-; foreign 9/.

Dr. Bhuyan, Director of Historical and Antiquarian Researches in Assam, is well-known by his many writings in English and Assamese and his editions of Assamese chronicles with critical English introductions. Assam has an exceptionally rich historical literature, which, though late in point of time, is much more dependable than similar chronicles from elsewhere. Dr. Bhuyan has collected together in this volume his contributions in English on general literature and on historical literature. These essays written in a simple and unpretentious style convey much welcome information about Assamese history and society, and is well worth the attention of any serious student who wants to know about Assam, a fascinating country on a strategic frontier of India. Mr. Sri Prakasa contributes a Forward, and his just appreciation of Dr. Bhuyan's work may be cited: 'The present work deals with the literatures of Assam. A speciality of it is that it is not about literature *on* Assam nor the literature produced *in* the Assamese tongue. It is a study of literature evolved in Assam through the centuries in various languages—Assamese, Khasi, Manipuri, Bengali and English. It has given a deservedly honoured place to the work of Christian missionaries who have made the literature of hill tribes of Assam available to us. A critical study is made of all these and it would certainly help us to enter into the heart of the Assamese people, and strike all the chords of sympathy and affection in our own.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

THE FOUNDATIONS OF INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY, Vol. I, 1860-1882 by Bisheshwar Prasad, M.A., D.Litt. Orient Longmans, 1955; Pages xi and 275.

This is the first of four volumes planned under the auspices of the Indian Council of World Affairs and meant to be published at intervals of one year each. The present volume is the work of Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad of the Delhi University; in the remain-

ing volumes Sri S. V. Desikachar of the National Archives will collaborate with him.

In the Preface Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad explains the aim of the book; it is to enable the Indian people to understand the background of the country's foreign policy by tracing the main currents in its formative period in modern times and thus reach 'a scientific appreciation of the international problems, the spiritual concepts and historical tradition.' The present volume which carries the story down to 1882 'is based primarily on the documents and records of the Foreign and Political Departments of the Government of India preserved in the National Archives Some literature produced in Russia, but translated into English has also been made use of. But I have not been privileged to examine the official Russian archives, which, I was informed, have very valuable material on the varied aspects of Czarist expansion in Asia, and the Tashkand archives have particularly rich material on Central Asian affairs. It has also not been possible for me to have access to Afghan or Persian sources of information.' But these apparently serious limitations do not appear to have imposed any handicap on the narrative which is concerned mainly with trends of Indo-British politics for which the best sources are naturally those of Indian origin.

Russian expansion in the East, particularly Central Asia, was the main preoccupation of British Indian policy in the North-west. Accordingly the book opens with a clear and cogent account of this expansion and the British reactions at different periods to the threat involved. At one stage 'Merv became the focus of British diplomacy and crystallised their fears and apprehensions' (p. 150); but Afghanistan is the centre piece of the story, the unfoldment of policy with regard to this country is clearly traced through its various stages and closely documented in a number of chapters. The account follows the familiar lines, and stresses the contrast between Lawrence and Northbrook on one side, and Lytton on the other. The chapter on 'Post war settlement in Afghanistan' concludes with the appraisal: 'By the result Lord Northbrook was vindicated and Lord Lytton's policy, having its origin in extra-Indian interests of British policy, and having for its basis the opposition of Russia in Central Asia, stood deprecated' (p. 232). Lord Lytton's personality and methods more than anything else brought on the second Afghan war; this is brought out clearly

enough in the narrative of events, though in the final estimate cited above the stress is more on the extra India interests of British policy. One chapter (XIII) is given to 'The Persian Gulf and the Arab Littoral.' Here the interests were trade and defence; the rivals were, primarily Turkey, and Russia also to some extent. Gradually Britain succeeded in establishing her paramountcy in these regions as an answer to Turkey's attempts to establish the sovereignty of the Porte; most of the states here became British protectorates whose defence was the responsibility of the Government of India. 'This policy', says Dr. Prasad, 'integrated well with that adopted towards Afghanistan or Kelat, and was the acknowledged basis of providing a defensive screen for India.'

'A nation's foreign policy', it has been said, 'is a programme designed to achieve the best possible position for the nation by peaceful means short of war.' Except for the costly aberration under Lytton, this dictum was more or less closely followed by the British Indian policy during the period and in the areas covered by this volume. In the final assessment of the results of the policy Dr. Prasad once more stresses the extra-Indian influences on it, but he is also clear that they brought no great harm to India's permanent interests, and on the whole forwarded them. He says: 'India's foreign policy, being wholly controlled by Her Majesty's Government, and completely subordinate to Whitehall, was directed towards the furtherance of British interests. With Afghanistan, Persia, Kalat, Kashgar, or Chitral, as also with the Khanates of Central Asia or the Sultanates and chiefships of the Persian Gulf area. India had no interest other than of friendliness, but her Government had to seek war and desire domination there because of purely British imperial designs. Yet it must be emphasised that in this period intimate relationship between the integrity and independence of the border states and India's own security, rather the identity of the two, was fully unfolded. Aden, the Persian Gulf, Kalat, Afghanistan, Kashgar, Tibet and Burma, all these were the bulwarks of her safety, and in their protection from alien encroachment lay the security of India also.' (p. 263) Obviously this is an instance, like some others, of the interests of Britain and India being alike.

Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad deserves to be congratulated on a solid piece of work well done.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

A **SHORT HISTORY OF HINDU-PAKISTAN**, prepared by Pakistan History Board. Pakistan Historical Society, Karachi; 1955, pages xx, 484 and 3 Cloth bound Rs. 10/- net, Students Edition Rs. 8/-.

This short history has been prepared by the Pakistan History Board set up by the Government in 1949 and published by the Pakistan Historical Society. The President of the Historical Society says in his Foreword that the study of History plays a vital role in the nation-building programme of a people, especially of one that wants to raise the structure of Society on the foundations of some ideology. He says further: 'The need of rewriting the history of the sub-continent is so obvious that I do not think it is necessary to say anything about it.' He substantiates this by mentioning the shortcomings of Smith and other Western writers. The Chairman of the History Board says in his Preface: 'Soon after the establishment of Pakistan the need for a correct and scientific presentation of our history began to be felt strongly....An attempt has been made in this book to present the various problems of Indo-Pakistan history, particularly those which have provoked controversies in a purely objective manner and to utilise the latest researches on various topics'. Besides the six members of the History Board, there are twenty contributors whose names are listed at the beginning of the book, though the identity of the authors of particular chapters is not revealed. 'The contributors, who have been selected from amongst college or University teachers of history, are scholars of repute.' (Preface vi). So the book must be taken to represent the consensus of opinion of the top-ranking historians of Pakistan.

There is, however, little evidence of research, and less of the scientific and objective presentation of facts; from beginning to end the book is a propaganda pamphlet for the Islamic state of Pakistan written on the basis of the two nation theory. The Board had a right to choose its own point of view and has done so, obviously with deliberation. The talk of scientific and objective presentation of controversial issues sounds strangely out of place. The treatment of topics is owing to limitations of space selective and summary, often quite dogmatic. The political history is scrappy and discontinuous; the few social history chapters are better and more readable. Hindu names and terms are often grossly misspelt.

The names Hind-Pakistan in the title of the book and Indo-Pakistanis for the people of India strike the keynote; India was

apparently created for the realisation and fulfilment of Pakistan! The advent of the Muslims into India is the great historical divide; 94 pages are given to the history before this event (Parts I and II) as against 270 pages to Parts III, IV and V (The Sultanate, the Mughal empire and its decline), and just 78 pages to the modern period (1857-1947) (Part VI).

The two urban centres of the Indus valley, Harappa and Mahenjo-Daro, anticipate by 3000 years the Arab principalities of Multan and Mansurah of the ninth century A.D. (p. 31). 'Islam swept off the mouldering debris of decaying systems and put in their place a civilization which still pulsates with life and vigour', (p. 95). 'With him (the prophet) begins the modern age, characterised by the liberation of the human mind from the shackles of superstition and his mastery over the forces of nature', (p. 96). 'Islam came as liberator of the people who had been living under the tyrannies of social and political iniquities' (97). 'Islam brought about a unification of the subcontinent to an extent that had never been achieved in the pre-Muslim period', (p. 183).

The Muslims of India were, it seems, the foremost in leading the struggle for India's political freedom. Witness the following extracts: 'Hafiz Rahmat Khan possessed these qualities (strength and capacity) and was anxious to utilise them for the restoration of Muslim supremacy in the north like Haidar Ali in the South... His memory like that of Tipu Sultan in the south, will go down to posterity as a brilliant episode in the long struggle of Indo-Pakistani Muslims in the cause of freedom', (p. 319). 'In the north Najib-ud-daulah was trying to re-establish the declining prestige of the Muslims; in the east Sirajud-daulah and Mir Qasim were playing a leading role in the struggle for freedom; in the south Haidar Ali and his son Tipu Sultan had taken upon themselves the responsibility of this mighty task', (346). 'If the Nizam and the Marathas had supported him (Tipu) he would certainly have succeeded in expelling the British from Hind-Pakistan', (355). 'The war of Independence, which has often been wrongly described as Mutiny, was the culminating stage in the century old struggle of the Muslims to free themselves from the domination of the foreigners', (365). On the other hand, 'No single factor contributed to the establishment of foreign rule in the sub-continent more than the activities of Shivaji and his successors', (246).

Such are a few of the extraordinary revaluations of events and personalities teeming in the book.

The concluding chapter on the birth of Pakistan has the following gem of historical objectivity: 'Though Pakistan had come into being with full agreement of the Hindu and Sikh leaders yet it had to encounter their opposition from the very outset. The new Government was confronted with such problems as might easily have overwhelmed even a well-established Government. Even before the inauguration of Pakistan, large scale massacres of Muslims had started in the East Punjab. Sikh leaders had been given vague hopes of a Sikh State and soon started massacring and driving out Muslims from the districts of Amritsar, Ferozpur, Gurdaspur, Ludhiana and Jullundur, and the Sikh States of Nabha, Patiala, Faridkot and other areas which were to form the nucleus of Sikhistan. There was considerable Muslim population in these areas, but Muslim policemen and soldiers had now been disarmed and the Hindu and Sikh policemen and soldiers actively assisted their co-religionists in the massacre of defenceless Muslims. Indeed in certain areas these butcheries were carried out by experienced I.N.A. officers (and details of their preparations were even reported to Lord Mountbatten, but he remained criminally inactive. Never in the entire history of British rule had a Governor-General behaved in a more irresponsible and inhuman way than this last representative of British imperialism. The result was that even before independence was formally announced, the biggest massacres of our history were started, accompanied by indescribable brutalities. Streams of Muslim refugees started pouring in across the border in appalling conditions and indeed at one time it appeared likely that the bulk of the Muslim population of East Punjab would be wiped out. The Government of Pakistan was not a day old when it had not only to think to the settlement of millions of refugees but had to make arrangements for safe removal of Muslims from large areas in which they had lived for ages, and where they were being systematically butchered'. (pp. 440-1). The whole book is written in the same spirit. The list of corrections at the end runs to three pages; it is far from being exhaustive.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

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Printed by G. Srinivasachari, B.A., at G. S. Press, 21, Narasingapuram Street, Mount Road, Madras, and Published by K. P. Pillay, B.A. (Oxon).
University of Travancore, Trivandrum.

JOURNAL of गुरुकुल काँगड़ी INDIAN HISTORY

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Vol. XXXIV, Part III.

December 1956.

Serial No. 102

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The Legacy of the British Rule in India

BY

SRI RAM SHARMA

The British first acquired political power in India in 1765; India became an independent dominion in 1947. In their first half century in India, the British were only one of the several political powers but after the disappearance of the Peshwa's authority in 1818, England became an imperial power in India and exercised paramount authority in the country. Thus for about 130 years the country was governed by the British.

A century and a half is not a very long period in the history of any country much less so in India where history of civilized existence extends back for more than five thousand years at least. But the British influence is the most recent foreign influence to which we have been subjected. As such it is still very much with us in many ways. Now that we are independent, it is possible for us to assess our debt to the British more accurately.

The first and the foremost legacy of the British is India's unity. Slowly but steadily the British extended the same system of administration to the entire British India. The same set of higher administrators shuttled to and from, various parts of the country imposing the same methods of administration everywhere. The codes of criminal and civil procedure are monuments of patience, industry and learning which few other countries can match today. Their effect in unifying the country can hardly be exaggerated. The same codes of civil and criminal procedure decided how citizens in various parts of the country were to have their disputes decided in the same fashion throughout the country. The relations of the citizens with one another were mainly governed by the same civil law though different personal, religious, customary and tribal-laws were allowed to govern marriage and inheritance.

The development of the means of communication made travel easier and thus broke down the old barriers that had divided one

region from another. The emigrants to other parts of the world—to Kenya, Trinidad, South Africa, British Guinea and elsewhere—discovered that Bengalis and Punjabis, Madrasis and Gujaratis, Hindus or Muslims, they were all Indians, Hindus in fact—in the eyes of the foreigners. The Post, the telegraph and the telephone made it possible for people in one part of the country to correspond with another and thus to get to know them sometimes without meeting face to face for years. English education provided a common means for expression of ideas in Bengal and Punjab, Assam and Gujarat, Bombay and Travancore, in fact throughout the country. The newspapers made it possible for their readers to learn what was happening in various parts of the country so that a famine in Rajputana, an earthquake in Bihar or Baluchistan, the partition of Bengal or the martial law in the Punjab could be shared as harrowing experiences in all parts of the country almost equally. Gokhale, Lajpat Rai, Surendra Nath, Tilak, Madan Mohan Malaviya, Firoz Shah Mehta, Ajmal Khan, Gandhi, Motilal could almost equally affect public opinion and course of events in their own provinces as elsewhere.

In the twentieth century national consciousness was promoted and a sense of unity produced by a rather strange factor, growing resentment against India's domination by the British. It brought several otherwise somewhat incompatible elements together, British India politicians and the princes—as at the Round Table Conferences—, Hindus and Muslims, frontier tribesmen and Indian citizens proper, industrialists and consumers, agriculturists and manufacturers. English education created an ever expanding class of citizens brought up in the liberal British traditions who believed that good government was no substitute for self-government.

The unity thus created was not however complete. The division of India into British India and non-British India—India not only of princes but of chiefs and estate-holders—retarded political progress in princely India and perpetuated medieval conditions. The recruitment to the army was confined to what were described as 'Martial races' but what in effect came to be classes 'loyal' to the idea of continuation of British rule in India. In public services preference was shown to Muslims, Anglo-Indians and Europeans and some specified castes or sub-castes among the Hindus in certain departments. Representation in the legislature was

based on the principle of keeping Muslims, Anglo-Indians, Indian Christians and Europeans separate from the rest and giving these classes—presumably on account of their 'loyal services'—more seats than they were entitled to.

This unity led to the emergence of a sense of national consciousness in India. The idea of a 'Nation State' has not a very long history either in the east or in the west. It came to fruition on the continental Europe about 1870; the Treaty of Versailles in 1919 extended it to states created out of the ruins of the German Empire and the Dual monarchy of Austria-Hungary and Turkey. In India national consciousness arose as a direct result of the British connection. England is the cradle of the nation-state. Long before the rest of Europe was affected by it, she had adopted it as her own. Her literature and her political philosophy extolled it. When English education was introduced here, Indian students, brought up on her 'literature of revolt' could not but imbibe the principles which this literature advocated. The political unity which the British rule imposed on India naturally brought in its wake a sense of 'Indianness'. Following precedents set in England and the United States various types of societies were set up providing political education in the country and inculcating lessons in national consciousness. Some of the British rulers of India unconsciously—Lord Curzon for example—contributed to this awakening by their tall claim to the exclusive knowledge of what was good for India and imposing it on her.

When in 1917 the British abandoned their claim to govern India for all time as a part of divine dispensation, they declared the establishment of responsible government in India as the new goal of their policy in India. This brings us to the third important legacy of the British rule; democratic government. Though the adoption of this policy was announced in 1917, certain elements of British rule in India had been fostering the idea of democratic government for some time past. The setting up of municipalities and district boards under Ripon was officially advocated as a part of the political education of Indians in democratic government. The presence of representative Indians in the imperial and provincial legislatures after 1894 familiarized them with 'forms' of democratic government. The British traditions of the rule of law and

liberty of citizens further strengthened these democratic tendencies.

The British connection with India naturally decided that democratic government in India would take the form of Parliamentary government, i.e., the executive being formed by the Political party having a majority in the popular house of the legislature and continuing in power only so long as it retains that majority. The servants of the crown and the East India Company who in 1853 had been set up as an organ for making laws for British India started playing at 'a petty Parliament'. In 1861 this was made impossible but in 1892 began this practice of asking questions and discussion of the financial statement by members of the legislatures. In 1909 members were permitted to move resolutions and ask supplementary questions. This naturally decided that Indian members of the legislature should ask for some more of all this and thus favour parliamentary form of government. Politically conscious classes in India became familiar with the English system of government and demanded its establishment in India to the exclusion of other forms of government.

One feature of the working of the Indian legislature might have threatened the setting up of French parliamentary practices in India. In the twentieth century committees of the legislatures came to be associated with certain departments in an advisory capacity. But independent authority was never lodged in these committees and their discontinuance in 1953 ensured that Indian parliamentary government was to take after English rather than the French practices.

Parliamentary procedure in India again is an English legacy. Legislatures do not perform the same functions nor do they perform them in the same way in all democratic governments. Luckily in India we have had more knowledge of English practices than what prevail elsewhere. There have been occasional appeals in India for adopting other than British Parliamentary practices whenever they have appeared inconvenient to individuals, parties or interests. But the British legacy in parliamentary procedure is safely entrenched in India in its broader principles; three readings of bills, examination of and the report on the bills by select or standing committees of the legislature, the question hour, the

impartial position of the Speakers and the grants of supplies on the motion of the ministers alone are some of the parliamentary practices for which we are indebted to the British.

Another British legacy is the rule of law in Indian government. All citizens are equal at law and public servants as such do not enjoy any special privileges likely to threaten the rights of the citizens. No invasion of personal rights can be justified as an act of state alone. All laws extend equally to all; high and low, rich and poor, Hindus and Muslims. Whenever an emergency or near-emergency requires the curtailment of the rights of citizens, such curtailment can be ultimately authorized by the freely elected legislatures alone within the framework of the Constitution.

The British practices in India occasionally stopped short of British Political philosophy. Europeans were entitled to a special procedure even in criminal cases against them. Public servants could not be prosecuted without the permission of the government in certain cases, and the legislatures which authorized the invasion of personal rights were not entirely elected. But the British connection in India laid stress on British public philosophy. Indians treated shortcomings of British practices in India as aberrations which could be excused but were in no case to be treated as models to be followed. Thus British example rather British practice provided the model which India took for her own. That is why the judiciary in India to-day is as independent as in the United Kingdom. That also explains why some critics of the Indian government often strive to overlook the work of the judiciary in India when they attempt to prove that the government is in the hands of a single party.

The greatest spectacular proof of the prevalence of the rule of law was proved by the first general elections in India. Friends and foes of India were alike amazed at the success of this greatest democratic election in the history of the world. The returning officers scrutinized the nomination forms of all parties with equal care and the presiding officer showed similar zeal in securing that the elections were both free and fair. When election tribunals heard cases they did not look at the party labels which the contestants wore but investigated the complaints of irregularities, corruptions and illegal practices presented to them.

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This naturally brings us to public administration. Here the British provided at the top general public administrators capable of performing all task of government equally well. Indians had been all but excluded in the nineteenth century. When in the twentieth century they began to enter the imperial services, they soon learnt the traditions which their British predecessors had built up and which their British colleagues were maintaining. If higher administrators had developed traditions of aloofness they were also impartial. If they did not know all that had to be known about the vast Indian subcontinent they were willing to learn—though not in any humility and were capable of discovering necessary sources of knowledge and if all else failed, of providing answers to questions which brooked no delay. The civil servants had been trained to shoulder responsibility, not to shirk it. The greatly reduced Indian public servants, civil and military, gladly shouldered the responsibility of carrying on the administration of the country after partition. Under the leaders possessing keen insight and moved by selfless devotion to the cause of their country they carried the country through the horrors of post-partition crisis. They carried through the greatest exodus of population in history from one country to another under conditions of almost open war-fare; they have provided the country with an agency capable of converting the bureaucratic administration of yesterday into a welfare state to-day. But much more than that they proved their mettle by their success first in taking over princely India and then assimilating the crude administration in major parts of princely India into modern forms of administration.

The British public servants combined the aloofness of the Olympians with the paternalism derived from Indian traditions. Paternalism started being challenged in 1921 and many of the British civil servants left. But a welfare state demands a new type of paternalism which derives its strength from the citizens' sharing governmental tasks with the administrators. The memories of their traditions of paternal administration may still prove a valuable British legacy in India.

Outside these fields the British have left many legacies in the industrial, commercial, educational, social and political fields. They set up through British agencies mainly—new industries in India, tea, petroleum, steel and iron among others. These industries were

organized as 'factories' on a very large scale; some older industries were also converted from cottage industries into huge enterprises, cotton textiles, jute, salt, indigo and several other ancient industries were so converted. A network of railways was set up to serve the military and mercantile needs of the rulers. This 'industrial revolution' started about a hundred years ago was carried through mainly by British capital and British enterprise. As the British example proved catching, great Indian industrial houses like that of the Tata's arose and took their share in the industrialization of the country. The national awakening and the spirit of Swadeshi born of the partition of Bengal provided further impetus for the Indians taking a greater share in the trade and industry of their country than had been the case so far. The Indian demand for self-government in this, as in other spheres soon led to Indians claiming their due share. Indians at first aimed at breaking British monopoly in these fields. This naturally resulted in building Indian industries after the British model; Indian joint stock companies with boards of directors and managing agencies claimed their proper place along with their British competitors. Plantation labour apart, British industrialists set up fair standards of employee welfare which Indian had perforce to follow.

Trade unionism, though a universal movement, is a British legacy in the form which it has taken in India. It is associated with democratic and socialistic countries. The Indian Labour Code has its roots in the British factory laws both in its success and in its short-comings.

Mainly owing to British policy in India, she has been now urbanized to a very large extent. Demands mainly by British capitalists in India resulted in the setting up of several industries in the same place. These factories, mills and workshops soon drew a large number of labourers from places far and near. Villages were some times denuded of all their able-bodied and adventurous young men and hence those left in them very often supplemented their income substantially from the money orders which they received from those employed abroad.

The educational system in India to-day is again a legacy of the British. Universities were set up in India in 1857 after the model of the University of London to provide examining and Degree

granting agencies. Once set up in that mould they grew but always within the same old mould. Schools became cradles for young men intending to proceed to the University or to enter professional institutions where such existed outside the University organization. They remained mostly non-governmental agencies. Unlike the United States they owed their origins to public laws of the country enacted to include all types of institutions and not set up to fulfil the intentions of their donors.

The British have left some impression on the social life of India as well. They set up clubs wherever they could foregather. In course of time, some of these became, by their exclusiveness, grim reminders of foreign rule in India. Shut out of them, Indians saw some virtue in these institutions and set up some similar institutions of their own. After partition even the more exclusive clubs have come to be composed of Indian members only. Racing, card playing and drinking acquired new values because the British rulers indulged in them. Betting on race results was new and seems to have set itself up as a popular pastime. To dress like Europeans became the height of fashion. As there was no one dress in use in the country, the European dress became a passport to 'good' society. The ceremonial and court dress were naturally British and hence it acquired a vogue which seems to be capable of living long after the departure of the British. Certain items of the dress seem to have got too popular to be easily thrown overboard.

Indian literature has been greatly influenced both by British rule and English literature. The British first used Urdu prose for literature as well as in daily tasks of administration. Hindi followed suit. Spread of education and a desire for spreading political awakening led to the emergence of newspapers, dramas, novels and verse in the Indian language. New forms of literature were adopted from their English habitat; short stories, essays, satire, criticism, one-act plays came to be written after the English fashion. Literary criticism, though it often started with appealing to ancient Sanskrit texts, began to lean more and more on English principles of literary criticism. Emancipation and progressiveness often took the shape of shaking oneself free of ancient practices and adopting English models.

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A very interesting legacy is India's discovery of her self, her ancient past. The centuries of political turmoil and political strife had left Indians unaware both of their ancient heritage and of its glory. 'The amazing discovery' that European languages were akin to Sanskrit led to an endless search for ancient texts which soon extended beyond Indian frontiers to central Asia. Many long lost texts were brought to light: Then began an attempt first to survey and then to preserve them and lastly to unearth archaeological wealth of the country. Soon Indian scholars joined forces with the Europeans in this search so that Indians of the twentieth century know more of her ancient glories than their ancestors of three or four hundred years ago.

The British legacy in India to-day is very large. Independent India is a successor to British India. If India had wrested political power from the hands of the British by force there might have been a deep anti-British movement after 1947. But the way in which Indians pressed their claims for independence and the method which the British employed for transferring power to Indian hands removed much of the earlier resentment against things British. Swadeshism of to-day takes pride not in burning British articles and institutions but in adopting them for its own purpose.

New Light on the Revolt of 1857 at Azamgarh

BY

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Some recently discovered official papers in Uttar Pradesh show that during the Revolt of 1857 the town and even the countryside of Azamgarh became for several months fully independent of British rule. This independence of course was shortlived, but still it is memorable in the history of India's freedom movement. It is not possible to reconstruct the whole story about the nature and extent of this brief period of freedom. It is a pity that adequate information is not available, for most of the records have perished and, among those which have survived, nearly all the contemporary documents relate to the British point of view. The side of the rebels is practically unrepresented, and, therefore, it is extremely difficult to visualise the story from the Indian standpoint. What little can be known about this is available only indirectly from the British records.

The story of the exploits of the rebels at Azamgarh is eventful, for it unfolds an epic of heroism and sacrifice which are unparalleled, and which unfortunately have not received from the European historians the attention they richly deserve. The European writers have not only ignored the achievement of the rebels, but have also distorted their story and have pictured them as lawless bandits. There is no doubt that when fuller details will be available the Azamgarh chapter of the Revolt will be immortalised in the history of India's freedom movement. From what is already known from the British records, it is quite clear that the rebels gave evidence of a wonderful power of organisation, matchless courage, and burning zeal for and love of the motherland.

On the eve of the Revolt, there were about five-hundred British troops at Azamgarh, belonging to the 17th Indian Infantry. These troops were brigaded with the 19th and 34th Regiments

stationed at Lucknow. Just when the British authorities suspected that a military rising might take place they hurriedly fortified the Collector's Court-House, closing up the verandahs with barricaded walls. Numerous sand-bags were placed over the parapets as additional protection, and the main entrance was commanded by two heavy guns, covered by a trench. On June 1, the trouble started unexpectedly. The authorities were taken by surprise when they learnt that the Indian Sepoys were holding a seditious meeting on that day. On the next day, some sepoy leaders tried to tamper with some of the troops who had come with Lieutenant Palliser to escort the spare treasure of Gorakhpur and Azamgarh into Varanasi. On June 3, some more treasure came to Azamgarh under the charge of another batch of sepoys. This was the signal for a rising. The sepoy leaders decided to loot a few lakhs of rupees which happened to be in the charge of the British officers. Most of the sepoys of the 17th Infantry rose in rebellion in a body, and declared independence. They soon managed to subdue the British element and easily got possession of at least five lakhs of rupees.

The British authorities made a desperate attempt to save the situation, but their attempt was foiled. The rebels fought for several hours with a dogged tenacity and got possession of most of the fortified buildings. The Quarter-Master, Sgt. Lewis, was shot down and other officers had to escape to Ghazipur. The Magistrate, Mr. Horne, and the Joint Magistrate, Mr. Simson, finding, that the situation was beyond redemption hurried to the Civil Station, leaving orders to the Kotwal to stem the advance of the rebel sepoys through the town. But the Kotwal was helpless and he had no means to stop the rebels. The jail was stormed and the convicts were taken out by the rebels. These convicts were so much of a reinforcement to the rebels. The attack on the jail and the release of the prisoners were carried out in the midst of remarkable enthusiasm, which recalls the revolutionary attack on the Bastille during the French Revolution. Barring a small number, most of the sepoys had by now joined the rebels. Some officers like Lieutenant Hutchinson were shot down while they tried to persuade the sepoys to remain loyal. If the sepoys had cared to murder the Europeans, they could have murdered a large number of them, but it is worth noting that the sepoys did not wish to indulge in a senseless killing. What they needed most immediately

was money, and so they tried to collect as much booty as possible. They could immediately get all the guns and much of the treasure available in the Government Treasury.

In the third week of June, some British fugitives tried to recapture Azamgarh and one of them, Mr. Venables, enjoyed full magisterial powers. He formed a small committee of public safety and collected a band of loyal troopers. A few eastern parganas of Azamgarh were recaptured, but a majority of the parganas of the district specially those which were under the Palwar Rajputs could not be regained. In the countryside the Palwar Rajputs were supreme and they maintained their independence with a superb bravery which has been completely forgotten at the present day. The British officers marched against the Palwars and near Koelsa there was a battle with them which lasted for three full days. This is one of those unrecorded battles which the British historians have completely ignored. In this battle the Palwars fought heroically and stoutly held their own. As the main engagement was fought with the Palwars at Koelsa, the whole operation may be called the battle of Koelsa of which details are unfortunately not known. This battle the rebels actually won, for the British records admit that Mr. Venables and his men became disorganised and were driven out. The victory at Koelsa filled the rebels with a new zeal. They were now encouraged to march on the city of Azamgarh once again where Mr. Venables was reinforced by a large number of troopers recruited by Captain Catania. When the Palwars approached the city, Mr. Venables had to move out to meet them. He saw that the rebels had entrenched themselves in groves, their front overlooked by high crops. With the recent attack the defenders found that they could not meet the rebels effectively.

The battle of Azamgarh was fought bravely on both sides, but the Palwars proved their superiority and won a decisive victory. The Britishers were completely routed and they were forced to retreat. This retreat soon turned into a mad scramble. In their hour of success the rebels, however, failed to exploit the situation to the utmost. If they had been able to do so, the result would have been extremely perilous to the British. There was, however, a grim fight all over the city of Azamgarh in which the British matchlockmen took part, but they suffered great losses in the street fighting. The rebels also had to face losses on their side,

but they steadily pressed on the British force. There was hard-fighting after this. The British were indeed on the point of retreating to Ghazipur, for they had no provisions left and the entire countryside was up by now. Even the loyal sepoys who had shown no appetite for warfare openly said that they could not fight so long as they were starving for food. If the Palwars had been better organised and led, the British would have found it impossible to retreat. As it is, the Britishers could stay on in the countryside for some time, while a large part of the district was virtually independent of British rule.

The tide at last turned with the arrival of the Gurkha Regiments who eventually saved the situation for the British. For the time being, however, the rebels were elated with success, and even got possession of the whole town. Such was the panic among the city merchants that they also went out of the city with their valuable movable properties, while the Europeans evacuated Azamgarh. After this evacuation the British lines at Azamgarh were plundered and there was complete disorder in the whole town. The Indian Nazir and Sarishtadar who had been left behind were forced to leave for Ghazipur. The whole Police also quitted the city.

It is unfortunate that practically nothing is known about the manner in which the rebels ruled Azamgarh during the brief period of their power. It appears that, one, Brithipal Singh, leader of the Palwars, commanded the city and levied a contribution in the town so as to make both ends meet. It is also likely that there was some indiscriminate loot as a result of which many innocent people suffered losses. That only proves that the Indian rebels were lacking in administrative organisation and police efficiency. There were some difficulties also which the Palwars could not overcome. Firstly, most of their force was engaged in distant Parganas and so they could not collect an adequate force in the city itself. Secondly, Muzzaffar Khan, a rebel leader, who had lately occupied Mahul could not send any timely reinforcements to the city. Thirdly, the chief Palwar leader, Beni Madho, who was engaged at Mundari, only nine miles from the city, had no reinforcements from any source and he had to take refuge at Atraula and had later to fly to Avadh when the Gurkhas appeared. Lastly, the time at the disposal of the rebels was wholly inadequate for the preparation of an effective defence of the city. The con-

sequence was that the success of the rebels could not endure, and as the Gurkhas appeared the British sovereignty was restored at Azamgarh, at least nominally. Beni Madho, Brithipal Singh and Muzaffar Khan had to seek safety in flight.

Even though the city was recaptured, the rebels were still unsubdued in the countryside. The Palwars were only half-defeated, and the fact that they were still strong in some parts of the district is proved by the British overtures to them to make peace. One British officer, Mr. Pollock, toured the countryside so as to induce the Palwars to settle down. Accompanied by a force, Mr. Pollock met the Palwar chiefs at Koelsa in a friendly conference. British diplomacy succeeded as it had always succeeded in the past. The Palwars were finally made to agree to British terms and they declared their friendship for the British Government. Such was the loyalty of these Palwars that they after this not only gave no trouble, but refused to help the great rebel leader, Kunwar Singh, when the latter came to Azamgarh in April, 1858. The ease with which the Palwar Rajputs were won over by the British diplomacy demonstrates the common weakness of the rebels in political acumen and diplomatic ability. Their disunion was naturally exploited by the foreigners.

The British success was initially short-lived, for the patriotic hero, Kunwar Singh, came and re-occupied Azamgarh for a short while. In 1858, the situation in Azamgarh proved favourable to the rebels. At this time the major portion of the British army was stationed at Lucknow, and so Azamgarh and the neighbouring area were devoid of adequate protection. This opportunity was brilliantly taken advantage of by Kunwar Singh, who was hovering in Western Bihar with a small force of his own. He made a heroic diversion in eastern Uttar Pradesh and joining with a large number of rebels still at large in the vicinity of Azamgarh, he made a sudden attack on the town. His ultimate plan was to move from Azamgarh either towards Allahabad or Varanasi. Kunwar Singh's position was further improved when another band of rebels joined him at Atraula.

Kunwar Singh's memorable coup was highly successful and Azamgarh again temporarily became free from British rule. But, as before, the rebels were running short of supplies and materials. The number of combatants on their side was also not adequate.

Leadership was woefully deficient. The consequence was that, despite his wonderful gallantry, Kunwar Singh could not hold on at Azamgarh for long. In the meanwhile, his position became untenable for two reasons. Firstly, there was famine all round Azamgarh and food was scarce and it was difficult to maintain law and order in the city and maintain a fighting army in a condition of efficiency. Secondly, Kunwar Singh who lacked adequate organisation of his own could not keep down the criminal element in the town, and there was disorder which could not be checked. The anarchical conditions led to loot, brigandage and incendiarism which weakened Kunwar Singh.

Kunwar Singh's occupation of Azamgarh is a grim chapter in the history of his chequered career. Here he displayed wonderful energy and enterprise and ability for organisation, but individual brilliance could not compensate the lack of concerted action. The British soon collected reinforcements at Varanasi, Ghazipur and Allahabad, and marched on Azamgarh towards the end of March. The initial attack of the British under the command of Colonel Milman and Colonel Dawes proved unsuccessful. When the news of the British defeat reached Lord Canning at Allahabad, there was great anxiety. With a leader of the ability of Kunwar Singh taking the offensive the position was bound to be extremely grave. It was at this time that Lord Canning took personal interest in the military operations and sent Col. Lord Mark Kerr against Azamgarh. Kunwar Singh and his men were now outnumbered and his left-wing had to retreat forthwith. The English received further reinforcements from Lucknow. Even though Kunwar Singh occupied the town he found that the position all round him was militarily untenable for want of resources. On the rapid approach of the British army, Kunwar Singh collected his forces along the banks of the River Tons, and decided to stop the British advance here, if possible. When he found that the British advance could not be stopped, he thought of marching in haste with all his forces to the Ganga, cross it, and attempt to retire to the wild country of Jagdishpur. The heroism which Kunwar Singh showed while fighting a rearguard action is indeed remarkable. He offered a stout and relentless resistance all along and fought with such a bravery that the British had to suffer heavy losses at the great battle which was fought at the bridge over the Tons. The British lost one of their principal leaders, Mr. Venables. But, Kunwar Singh knew that victory had cruelly eluded his grasp and retreat

Gwalior Succession, 1826-1827

BY

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Towards the end of his career, during the period of the Governor-Generalship of Lord Amherst, Maharaja Daulat Rao Sindhia became weak, sickly and almost bed-ridden. For a long time he was in a fluctuating state of health. Several times he fell seriously ill and remained in the grips of a protracted disease. As he was old and had no male issues to succeed him, every time his precarious health caused alarm and anxiety and made the British Government in India uneasy and thoughtful. In a powerful state contiguous to British territories an undisturbed and peaceful succession to the throne was the constant anxiety of the British mind. Not quite free from Burma and Bharatpur, Lord Amherst did not want to hazard British position by entering into fresh complications and desired to avoid by diplomatic pressure the inevitable concentration of all power for a long time in the hands of Baiza Bai, the junior Rani, and her brother Hindu Rao, the two strong, talented, powerful and overbearing personalities in Gwalior, in the event of the death of the Maharaja without a son of his own blood or an heir by adoption. Nor could he consider expedient to uphold the better and most rightful claims of the senior Rani Rukma Bai to adopt a son and administer the country as Regent. It was the first occasion when British interposition to ensure tranquil succession in Gwalior, since the dissolution of the Maratha confederacy, was actively contemplated. Although the Governor-General disclaimed all pretensions to any right to control and regulate succession or any desire to bring the Maharaja's dominion under more immediate British protection and gave most friendly assurances that he had no intention to effect interference in the internal administration of the state, yet in the name of maintaining tranquillity and independence of the State of Gwalior and general peace of Central India, he showed active interest in selecting a successor to ensure undisputed succession. The long chain of correspondence

between the Resident in Gwalior and the Secretary to the Governor-General in Calcutta is a positive source of information on this subject.

In January 1826, when the Maharaja fell ill he was examined by Mr. Panton, the official surgeon of the Residency, who reported his condition to be exceedingly serious. Major Stewart, the Resident at Gwalior, was shocked to find the Maharaja in the grips of a precarious disease of a far more dangerous nature than he had in the least suspected. Considering his recovery even under the most favourable circumstances to be extremely difficult and fearing a fatal result, he advised the Maharaja to decide the question of succession before his death but the Maharaja 'made no illusion whatever to a successor'.¹ The silence of Sindhia on this issue and the uncertainty about it gave reasons for apprehension that the succession might be disputed after his death. Naturally, therefore, the succession question exercised the minds of the interested people and became an important issue. Despite the endeavours of the Resident to persuade him either to adopt a son himself or to give requisite authority in writing to one of his wives for making an adoption after his death and to issue a formal declaration of his wishes regarding the administrative arrangements to be made after his demise, the Maharaja neither took any measure for the adoption of an heir nor seemed disposed to declare his wishes regarding it. His sister Bala Bai also suggested the urgency and expediency of it but he remained seemingly unmoved.²

In these circumstances Stewart feared that if the issue remained undecided during the life time of the Maharaja it might kindle a flame of civil war which might disturb the future tranquillity of Central India.³ In fact there was no occasion for civil commotion in the state. Baiza Bai was all powerful and had ability, resources and firmness to nip in the bud any civil uprising or a commotion in the army.⁴ Moreover, the usage in the Hindu states of Central India recognised the legality of an adoption by the widow

1. P. C. 27th January, 1826, No. 42.

2. P. C. 27th January, 1826, No. 46.

3. S. C. Letter from the Governor-General to the Court of Directors, 18th May, 1827.

4. P. C. 27th January, 1826, No. 45.

even without permission of her husband. But here the difficulty was that Sindhia had two wives, Rukma Bai and Baiza Bai, and the East India Company did not want that the question should be left over to be decided by Baiza Bai in whom it had little or no confidence.

In his findings forwarded to the Governor-General, Stewart mentioned his views that under any circumstance Baiza Bai would succeed to the authority of the Maharaja after his death. The power which she enjoyed combined with the possession of the treasures of the state was destined to render her influence irresistible, independently of the right which she might acquire to assume charge of the Government.⁵ Rukma Bai, the senior and neglected wife of the Maharaja whose claims were more reasonable and rightful would act in subservience to the predominating influence of her junior compatriot in the palace.⁶ He entertained the apprehension that, even in the exercise of her legitimate right of adoption according to the Hindu usages, she would be entirely guided by Baiza Bai.⁷ On receipt of this report the Governor-General expressed his opinion that he would be prepared to accept any selection of a successor made by the general voice or by a majority of the chiefs and principal persons of the state according to the established usage, whether the letter of the written law was closely adhered to or not.⁸

By the end of February 1826 when the Maharaja's health considerably improved and there remained no apprehension of his death, he gave a long interview to Stewart on the 4th March. In course of his talk, in answer to queries made by the Resident, he frankly told him that his collaterals had become so remote and distant that he did not consider anybody fit to be his successor. In fact he did not want to transmit the splendid inheritance to a far distant cousin whom he had never seen or probably never heard of. However, he promised to give serious consideration to the question of selecting a suitable successor.⁹ The Resident believed

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Ibid.*

8. P. C. 27th January, 1826, No. 4.

9. P. C. 28th March, 1826, No. 33.

that the hopes of the Maharaja of having a son with Baiza Bai and his indifference towards those distantly related to him by blood rendered him extremely averse to admit the necessity of making an adoption.¹⁰ Nevertheless, it was hoped that he might give a written authority to somebody to adopt an heir after his death unless Baiza Bai wished to retain authority in her own hands.¹¹ On his obvious recovery from illness when Daulat Rao Sindhia finished the ceremony of ablution with great rejoicings and profuse distribution of eleemosynary presents, the Resident communicated to him through Atma Ram Pandit the ardent desire of the Governor-General that the Maharaja should take steps to ascertain the most suitable person for adoption as his heir and successor.¹²

Again in August 1826, the Maharaja's health considerably deteriorated and threatened his early dissolution.¹³ Major Fielding, the Acting Resident, immediately sent for Atma Ram Pandit, and as a result of information obtained from him he viewed that in the event of Sindhia's death without making any previous testamentary provision for a successor, the most regular right of adoption would fall to his first wife Rukma Bai who was kept in obscurity and insignificance by the commanding influence of Baiza Bai, although she was not altogether deficient either in spirit or ability. He opined that the Maharaja's indecision to adopt an heir arose largely from his unwillingness to deprive her of the privilege of being the adoptive mother which Baiza Bai desired for her self. However, like his predecessor, Major Fielding also communicated to the Maharaja the expediency of removing all chances of a disputed succession by adopting a successor and reported to the Governor-General that nothing was done by the Maharaja beyond sending a person to the Deccan to make necessary enquiries about the probable descendants of his family who could rightfully be adopted as his heir and to ascertain as to whose horoscope was most fortunate.¹⁴ This view of the Acting Resident, as elaborated by him later on, was based on the reported refusal of the Maharaja to

10. *Ibid.*

11. *Ibid.*

12. P. C. 9th June, 1826, No. 35.

13. P. C. 15th September, 1826, No. 7.

14. *Ibid.*

consider favourably the claims of any one of the two boys related to Baiza Bai, his apparent indifference to the future of his state and his disgustful utterances that after his death the English would be the masters of everything and might do as they pleased.¹⁵ Afterwards on the 25th August, in an interview with the sick Maharaja, he again raised the unpalatable topic of succession and made it very explicit, not without overstepping the bounds of delicacy, that there should be no chance of a dispute for succession in the event of his sudden demise.¹⁶ In another meeting he advised the Maharaja to deposit with the Resident a valid testamentary instrument to be acted upon in case of an accident, if there was any difficulty in making an early adoption or any hitch in declaring his intentions publicly.¹⁷ To the first advice the Maharaja replied that the desired arrangement would be made after necessary inquiries but to the second he gave no reply.

The Governor-General reprimanded the Acting Resident for his speculations and did not agree with him that the death of the Maharaja was near and that he had a soft corner for his senior wife whose right he would not abrogate and dare not confirm. Of these two views he treated the first one as against the authoritative professional opinion and the second one as against all trends of the time. He scarcely doubted that Sindhia desired and expected Baiza Bai to succeed him 'in the exercise of the sovereign power and the general management of affairs.'¹⁸ He felt that she was already 'the confidante of all his counsels' and a power behind the throne who wielded real authority. She exerted marked influence in the administration of public affairs and had control over the treasury. If the cause of such an influential lady was unpopular, there was no reason to believe that the cause of Rukma Bai, a secluded female, who was never allowed to participate in public affairs and had long lived in complete retirement, could lay claim to any positive degree of popular favour.¹⁹ With regard to the right of adoption, he held that no widow would possess a valid

15. *Ibid.*; P. C. 10th November, 1826, No. 47.

16. P. C. 15th September, 1826, No. 9.

17. P. C. 6th October, 1826, No. 41.

18. P. C. 6th October, 1826, No. 39.

19. *Ibid.*

and substantial title to adopt unless formally empowered by her husband. Therefore, if the Maharaja happened to die without adopting an heir, the lady who could 'best support her pretensions and enjoy the confidence and support of the majority of the leading men in the country might fairly be regarded as the legitimate ruler' to fill the period of transition until satisfactory arrangements could be made.²⁰

Apprehending struggle for succession as a probable consequence of the death of the Maharaja, the Governor-General issued instructions to the Acting Resident to observe an attitude of distinct non-interference, to abstain from committing the British Government to the recognition of a successor before receiving explicit orders and not to accept any document unless it was handed over voluntarily and without any obligation to guarantee and enforce its disposition.²¹ He was also asked to observe the trends and events in the state very carefully and report without delay on the following points.

- (1) The day to day happenings in the state; the general state of feeling with regard to succession; the relative strength of the various parties in the state and of the claimants to the throne and the means they possessed of enforcing their pretensions.
- (2) An account of the several members of the Sindhia family and all the relations then living, both male and female.
- (3) The degree of authority, avowed or indirect, exercised by Baiza Bai in the administration of the State.²²

Meanwhile, the Governor-General felt it necessary to obtain the views of the Resident on points on which the Acting Resident had given different opinion. But the Resident, in his letter of the 6th October 1826, reiterated his former opinion that Baiza Bai would succeed with little or no opposition to the chief authority in the state in the event of the death of Daulat Rao Sindhia, although from the point of view of strict justice Rukma Bai would have the

20. *Ibid.*

21. P. C. 20th October, 1826, No. 20

22. P. C. 6th October, 1826, No. 39.

best claim to adopt an heir and to work as Regent during his minority. He attributed the indifference of Sindhia to his confidence that the immediate power after his decease would fall into the hands of Baiza Bai and her brother. He doubted very much if the Maharaja, decapacitated by debility and disease and accustomed to yield in all points to the will of Baiza Bai for eight years, would ever be able to resist her bewitching commands.²³

However, the Acting Resident continued to hold his previous views regarding the apathy of Daulat Rao Sindhia to the question of succession and considered the right of Rukma Bai as undisputed.²⁴ He attributed the failure of the Maharaja to appoint a responsible minister after the death of the late minister Serjee Rao to the commanding influence of Baiza Bai over him. Her reputation for ability arose more from the determination and energy of her character than from her possessing a more common share of good sense. He held her responsible for the protection given to the Pindaris by Sindhia in 1817 and the help rendered to the Peshwa in 1818, and appreciated the conduct of Bala Bai who had twice saved the state from ruin. 'No salutary measure ever originated with Baiza Bai'. She influenced nomination, confirmation and removal of public officers. Nazaranas to her were passports to higher jobs and promotions. Her good word was 'notorious in the market'. She held Ujjain, Shahjahanpur, Sonkutch and Burhanpur and other districts in jagir and her brother held Narwar and the neighbouring villages and occasionally received cash from the Maharaja. Baiza Bai wanted to appoint him as minister but the Maharaja always firmly resisted her importunities to appoint him to that high office and even refused to increase his military rank to more than a hundred horse. Nevertheless, his influence was great. It was exercised chiefly through his sister and, like hers, 'was always ready for the best bidder.'²⁵ In this way, the Acting Resident maligned Baiza Bai's character and influence and held her responsible for all factions, ills and disputes in the state and indecision and apathy of her husband. This seems to be a grossly exaggerated picture of the talented, powerful and influential lady. During this

23. P. C. 25th October, 1826, No. 9.

24. P. C. 10th November, 1826, No. 47.

25. *Ibid.*

period of the Maharaja's illness the Acting Resident frequently urged Atma Ram Pandit to prevail on him to make some arrangement for succession and point out the many inconveniences that would result from the neglect of this precaution.²⁶ But the Maharaja was so 'sedulously attended and watched by Hindu Rao' that with great difficulty Atma Ram could find some moments to have a private *tete-a-tete* conversation with him when he was alone. So many approaches had already been made to the Maharaja in direct and indirect manner and so sufficiently he had been pressed to finalise succession, when he was least anxious to be troubled by it, that in disgust and annoyance he said, 'why should the British Government take so much interest in this business.'²⁷ In reply to it Atma Ram brought forward the arguments with which the Acting Resident had furnished him and said that this attitude of the British Government was a proof of their frequent professions of friendship. To this the Maharaja reacted more indifferently and candidly than graciously that he did not care much for the friendship of which the benefits were to appear after his death; that he was not much worried about the future fate of his territories; that he cared nothing whatever for the person who would succeed him; and that even if he did, the dissensions on the issue might prevent him from taking any decision and if the Governor General actually felt the interest, he professed, in the continuance of his name and sovereignty, he would make necessary arrangements better than he himself could without harrassing him any more.²⁸ In reply to an observation of Atma Ram, that, if no arrangements for succession was made during his life time, there might be violent disputes in his family afterwards, the Maharaja made the following significant remarks:

"Very true, disputes in a family are much to be deprecated; I shall bring this to the particular notice of the Bai and desire her not to continue to urge any new arrangements, or to persecute me with remonstrances as to my diet; I know my present illness is mortal, and it is very hard I should be deprived of such little gratifications as I can enjoy during the short time I have to live."²⁹

26. P. C. 10th November, 1826, No. 49.

27. *Ibid.*

28. *Ibid.*

29. *Ibid.*

Atma Ram Pandit had some conversation with Baiza Bai also. He conveyed his impressions to the Acting Resident that she did not want that the Maharaja should make any arrangement for succession and that her ultimate object was to contrive to place in Hindu Rao's hands not only the executive power of the state but also the sovereignty itself. To the Acting Resident this view of Atma Ram Pandit did not appear to be improbable. But the facts were otherwise. Like her husband and everybody else Baiza Bai was actually in the dark about Sindhia's male relatives. Therefore, she suggested that the person for adoption should be determined by selection rather than by mere propinquity of blood.³⁰

Curiously enough the Acting Resident heard from a tolerably reliable source that the Maharaja had an intention to deliver his seal and dagger to the Resident at the time of his death with a request to him to make all necessary arrangements for succession to his sovereignty.³¹ He, therefore, paid a personal visit to the Maharaja but, finding his condition much worse than before, did not open the delicate topic.³² However, he procured a genealogy of Daulat Rao for the Governor General and indicated that, among the nearest male relatives of the Maharaja, Peerajee, Patloba and Redarjee were the most prominent. Of these, the first had no son, the second had a son named Moogat Rao, aged nine years, and the third, who was nearer than the second, had officiated at all religious ceremonies whenever a near relation was required and had a fine son too of about ten years. But Baiza Bai had no liking for him. She had never permitted him to meet the Maharaja. Moreover, his son was not unmarried. In the past it used to be the policy of Daulat Rao Sindhia to employ the members of his family to high positions in the state, most particularly in the army, but when Baiza Bai gained ascendancy in his counsels she carefully excluded them and all others from high offices in the state lest their influence might interfere with her own.³³

After his return from the hills to Gwalior, the Resident paid a visit to the Maharaja on the 10th November 1826 and found him

30. P. C. 25th October, 1826, No. 11.

31. P. C. 10th November, 1826, No. 53.

32. *Ibid.*

33. P. C. 10th November, 1826, No. 55.

in a much better condition and less apprehensive of his death than before. In fact he had become so much accustomed to his disease that it had lost its terrors. The Maharaja himself opened the topic of succession and promised to speak on that subject in a private interview after a few days.³⁴ The private interview was held on the 27th November in which the Maharaja discussed the question of adoption and treated it as a very delicate issue. From the discussion the Resident gathered that the Maharaja's indecision was caused partly by the embarrassment that it might cause if a son was born to him afterwards, partly by the very remote degree of consanguinity in which persons were likely to be related to him and partly by the difficulty to decide whether it would be proper to resort to a very unusual practice of adopting a son from a different family and how it would be received by all concerned.³⁵ The Resident glossed over the last point and proceeded to ascertain his sentiments with regard to the person best entitled to succeed to his authority on his death. To this the Maharaja very explicitly replied that there was no one entitled to claim succession and no one so nearly related to him as to acquire a right to succeed; that the sons-in-law had no claims; that in such cases like the one in his state a man's wife would be the person best entitled to manage the affairs of the state after the death of her husband without a male issue or a son by adoption; and that of his two wives the senior one was entirely unsuited for the task as she had no knowledge of the world and no experience in the intricate business of administration. She was fit only to sit quietly at home, to eat her food and nothing more. The Resident communicated the purport of his interview to the Governor-General and expressed his view that Baiza Bai would succeed to the Maharaja's authority after his death and would also endeavour to retain authority in her own hands unless the British Government interfered and insisted on an adoption being made.³⁶ Most probably the remarkable indifference and studied silence of Daulat Rao Sindhia on the question of succession was born of his intense desire not to give any cause to conflicts, turmoils and formation of groupings in his state. He wanted to ensure quiet succession to Baiza Bai

34. P. C. 1st December, 1826, No. 29.

35. P. C. 22nd December, 1826, No. 25.

36. *Ibid.*

who had talents for administration and determination, power and resources to nip in the bud any sudden upsurge.

Three and a half months after this interview in March 1827, Daulat Rao Sindhi's illness took a fatal turn and he expired on the 21st morning.³⁷ Just before his death Hindu Rao called for Stewart and told him that the Maharaja would adopt one of the three youths then present in the palace whose relationship to the Maharaja was not much remote than that of the two boys whose pictures were received from the Deccan if the Resident agreed to this proposal.³⁸ Emphasising the need of an immediate adoption so that the adopted son could set fire to the funeral pyre of the Maharaja in the event of a need, he took Stewart to the Maharaja. But the Maharaja could not speak anything beyond saying that he had a great deal to say and that he wished the Resident to do whatever he thought proper. Then he became speechless and expired within an hour³⁹ without formal appointment of a successor either by adoption or by a written will or by a distinct declaration on his death bed. The scheme of adoption was thus defeated. Thereupon the Resident decided to await the arrival of the boys from the Deccan before taking final decision on the question of succession. He reported to the Calcutta Government, 'So nearly had a strifling, picked up I may say in the streets and with hardly decent clothes to cover him, become the sovereign of this state'.⁴⁰

Having received information about the death of Daulat Rao Sindhia, Lord Amherst immediately demanded from the Resident precise information on the following points:⁴¹

- (1) In what form and under what title Baiza Bai and Hindu Rao proposed to exercise sovereign authority in the State?
- (2) Whether they contemplated an adoption?
- (3) What was the public opinion in Gwalior?

37. P. C. 6th April, 1827, Nos. 2 & 4.

38. P. C. 6th April, 1827, No. 7.

39. *Ibid.*

40. *Ibid.*

41. P. C. 20th April, 1827, No. 5.

- (4) What was the attitude of the principal chiefs, military commanders and ministers towards succession?

After the death of the Maharaja, his most favourite wife Baiza Bai assumed sovereignty of the State professedly in her capacity as regent but in fact she intended to retain power throughout her life.⁴² Stewart noticed a general wish, particularly predominant among the Marathas, to see a son of the Sindhia family adopted and the name of the Sindhia's sovereignty upheld. Jealous of the power of Baiza Bai and Hindu Rao they wanted to get this object fulfilled under the auspices of the British Government. They also wished that the adoption should be performed in a regular manner by the elder widow of the late Maharaja.⁴³ But Lord Amherst wanted to avoid as far as possible the appearance of being interested in regulating succession and also the obligations involved and the troubles and complications resulting therefrom.⁴⁴ Therefore, he looked with placid satisfaction when he found that there was no symptom of impending struggle or competition for succession to the gaddi or even an appearance of a regularly organised party possessing power or inclination to contest with Baiza Bai beyond an all round anxiety regarding the child to be adopted as the future prince. He felt that the devolution of sovereign authority on Baiza Bai was strictly in accordance with the wishes of her husband. This claim of Baiza Bai was prominently brought forward by the Maharaja during his complimentary interview with the Governor-General at Agra. Her name had also appeared in the treaty of 1805 and the subsequent supplementary engagement as the wife of Daulat Rao Sindhia and for her a provision of Rs. 2,00,000 per annum was made. Hence she was considered to have the best title to govern the state of Gwalior during the interregnum.⁴⁵

In the meantime, five boys of the Sindhia family reached the Residency on the 29th May. But Baiza Bai was not inclined to adopt any one of them. She renewed her old scheme of adopting a boy of her own family and of placing him on the gaddi after his

42. P. C. 26th April, 1827, No. 2.

43. P. C. 5th June, 1827, No. 4.

44. *Ibid.*

45. *Ibid.*

marriage with her youngest grand-daughter.⁴⁶ That boy was the grandson of late Viswas Rao by the female line, son of Jathji Rao Patankar and brother of the Rani of Kolhapur and her mother was the first cousin of Baiza Bai. But this scheme was not acceptable to the Resident as it was opposed to the sentiments of the Paramount Power. Pronouncing it to be against the public opinion in Gwalior, inconsistent with the Hindu usage and against the wishes of the late Maharaja, he determined to thwart it outright. He canvassed for the claims of the members of the Sindhia family and won over important personages of the state to his view. Moreover it was difficult for her to get that boy as the Raja of Kolhapur was not inclined to hand over his brother-in-law to Baiza Bai due to his hostility with her family and the British Government refused to exercise its influence on him for handing over that boy to her.⁴⁷ The persons opposed to the ascendancy of Baiza Bai advanced the claims of Rukma Bai to Regency to promote their own interests which could not have been served under the Regency of Baiza Bai. The Principal bankers, feeling the condition to be insecure on account of the conflicting views of Baiza Bai and the Paramount Power, discontinued their business. In opposition to this atmosphere and particularly to the wishes of the Resident it was not possible for Baiza Bai to materialise her plan.

In these adverse circumstances, Baiza Bai was persuaded with utmost difficulty by Atma Ram and Hindu Rao to give up her original plan and to decide to adopt Moogut Rao, one of the boys of the Sindhia family, as recommended by Stewart. She gave her reluctant assent on the conditions that Moogut Rao would be married to her youngest grand-daughter and she would be allowed to proceed on a pilgrimage to Banaras.⁴⁸ The first condition was intended to effect security to her position and to make her attachment with the new ruler more close and intimate. The second was only an expression of her mortification, frustration and dissatisfaction. In this state of affairs Stewart wanted the ceremony of adoption and installation to take place without delay so that

46. P. C. 29th June, 1827, No. 2.

47. *Ibid.*

48. P. C. 6th July, 1827, No. 2.

no complications could arise in the future while Baiza Bai was interested in postponing the issue in which she was least interested. But her wishes could not prevail as the Resident did not admit of any procrastination.⁴⁹ Ultimately she succumbed to the inevitable. She was overwhelmed with grief at this sudden end of her favourite dream. Moogut Rao was married to her youngest granddaughter on the 17th June and was elevated to the gaddi on the next day under the name of Jankoji Rao Sindhia and Baiza Bai acted as Regent during his minority.⁵⁰ The Resident presented him with a rich *Khil'at* customary for the occasion. What was the wish of the late Maharaja and how far it was fulfilled it is difficult to know. However, it can be presumed that most probably he wished Baiza Bai to enjoy supreme authority and be the final arbiter of the destiny of his state. But the Paramount Power willed otherwise and refused to recognise her claims beyond those of a Regency. She was not given a freehand in effecting an adoption.

In this matter of succession a policy of legitimacy and convenience was adopted to proclaim the righteous stand of the East India Company while on the question of appointment of Regent a policy of expediency was pursued in complete defiance of right and justice and superior claims of Rukma Bai on the plea that it was the wish of the Maharaja. Thus the march of Paramountcy was never based on any well defined lines. The most essential consideration was to increase its pace. Nature of the case, expediency of the moment, security of British interests and tranquillity of the region determined the course to be adopted and means to be accepted. If moral sense of justice happened to coincide with these considerations it was destined to be upheld and proclaimed loudly. Thus the tender plant of paramountcy was very carefully nurtured by all possible means to make it fruitful and flourishing in subsequent years.

49. *Ibid.*

50. P. C. 6th July, 1827, No. 4.

Some Facts of Early Orissan History

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I. Ancient Orissa

Orissa is spelt *Oḍiśā* in the language of the Oriyas. This name seems to be derived from an earlier form like *Auḍriya-vishaya* through forms like *Oḍḍi-visau* and *Oḍi-visā*. The Tibetan author Tāranātha mentions the name as *Oḍi-viśa* (I.A., Vol. IV, pp. 365-66). The tribal name *Uḍra* or *Oḍra* lies at the root of all these forms. But *Uḍra*, *Oḍra* or *Auḍra* cannot be regarded as the earliest name of Orissa.

In ancient times a powerful people named the *Kaliṅgas* lived in the present Orissa region. In the third century B.C., the Maurya emperor Aśoka (circa 373-332 B.C.) conquered the *Kaliṅgas* and annexed the *Kaliṅga* country to his empire. The province of *Kaliṅga* in the Maurya empire was divided into two administrative units. The north-eastern part of the country had its headquarters at *Tosalī* (although the land around the city was later often called *Tosala*) which is the modern *Dhauḷi* near *Bhubaneswar* in the *Puri* District of Orissa. In a later age, kings of the *Ārya-Mahāmeghavāhana* family of the *Chedi* clan, which is represented by *Khāravela*, described as 'the supreme lord of *Kaliṅga*', appear to have had their capital in the same area. In Maurya times, south-western *Kaliṅga* had its headquarters at the city of *Samāpā* near modern *Jaugaḍa* in the *Ganjam* District. Indian literature intimately associates *Kaliṅga* with the *Mahendragiri* now standing on the borders of the *Ganjam* District of Orissa and the *Srikakulam* District of the *Andhra* State. But there is no doubt that the *Godāvarī* or the *Kṛishṇā* was often regarded as the south-western boundary of the *Kaliṅga* country. This is indicated by the fact that, about the fifth century A.D., some rulers, enjoying the title *Kaliṅgādhipati*, not only had their capital at *Piṣṭapura*, modern *Pithapuram* in the *East Godavari* District, but sometimes even claimed lordship over the whole coastland

between the Kṛṣṇā and the Mahānadī. Actually however the north-eastern boundary of the ancient Kalinga country lay even beyond the Mahānadī, although Kalinga did not include the whole of modern Orissa. The north-eastern part of coastal Orissa was included in early times in the land of the Utkalas while the Patna-Sonpur region in the upper valley of the Mahānadī formed the eastern part of the country named Dakṣiṇa-Kosala till the early medieval period. But the Utkalas and some of their neighbours may have been ethnically related to the Kalingas. Indeed an ancient tradition recorded in the *Mahābhārata* (I, 104, 53) and the *Purāṇas* (*Bhāgavata*, IX, 23, 5; *Vāyu*, 99) regards the progenitors of the Aṅgas of East Bihar, Vaṅgas of South Bengal, Kalingas, Puṇḍras of North Bengal and Suhmas of West Bengal as co-uterine brothers. Early European writers sometimes represent the people of South Bengal (Gangaridae) as a Branch of the Kalin people (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, VI, 21 ff.).

We have seen how the river Kṛṣṇā was sometimes regarded as the south-western boundary of the ancient Kalinga country. But in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D., the Śālaṅkāyanas were ruling over the coastland between the Kṛṣṇā and the Godāvarī with their capital at the city of Veṅgī (modern Peddavegi near Elūru in the West Godavari District) and they did not claim to be lords of Kalinga. In the sixth and seventh centuries the Vishṇukunḍins were ruling over the same area. They also did not claim to be rulers of the Kalinga country. If the identification of the *Andhr-ādhipati*, mentioned in the Haraha inscription of the time of Maukhari Īśānavarman, dated V. S. 611 = 553-54 A.D., with a Vishṇukunḍin monarch is accepted, the kingdom of the Vishṇukunḍins was probably known as Andhra. During the second quarter of the seventh century, the Eastern Chalukyas established themselves at Pishṭapura (Pithapuram in the East Godavari District) and ruled over the entire coastcountry from the Visakhapatnam District in the north-east to the Guntur District in the south-west for many centuries. But their kingdom became famous under the name of Veṅgī. During this period, the major part of the Visakhapatnam District formed a part of Veṅgī, although the Yelaman-chili Taluk of that District was called Elamañchi-Kaliṅgadeśa. The Early Eastern Gaṅgas were ruling over the area about the present Srikakulam District with their capital at Kaliṅganagara, which has been identified with modern Mukhalingam near Srikakulam, from

the close of the fifth century A.D. They also enjoyed the title *Kaliṅgādhipati* or lord of Kalinga. In the early medieval period, it is only the kingdom of these Early Eastern Gaṅgas that was exclusively known as Kalinga, because, as will be seen below, the kingdoms in the Ganjam-Puri-Cuttack region assumed different names such as Koṅgoda, Tosali, Uḍra, etc., since the latter part of the sixth century A.D. With the rise of the Imperial Branch of the Eastern Gaṅgas, and especially with the conquest of the coastland between the Godāvarī and the Ganges, (Bhāgīrathī) by the Imperial Gaṅga monarch Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga about the beginning of the twelfth century, the major part of Ancient Kalinga came under the Kalinga king. But the old name did not get time enough to become popular again as the successors of Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga soon transferred their capital to the Cuttack District far away from the Srikakulam region that had become famous under the name Kalinga during the many centuries' rule of the Early Eastern Gaṅgas. The Eastern Gaṅgas originally lived in the present Kannaḍa-speaking area of Mysore, whence they migrated to and settled in the present Telugu-speaking area of Śrikakulam. The Kannaḍa origin of the Eastern Gaṅgas is not only supported by the copper-plate grants of Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga and his successors (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 239 ff.) but also by the following statement in the description of Choḍagaṅga in the *Mādālā Pāñji*: *Chudagaṅga Karṇāṭadesaru āsi*, etc. (ed. Mahanti, p. 23). The mother tongue of the Imperial Gaṅgas was originally Telugu. This is clearly indicated not only by the great part Telugu plays even in their later documents but also by the popularity of names like *Aniyāṅkabhīma* which was later Sanskritised as *Anaṅgabhīma* through the intermediate form *Anaṅkabhīma*. After the transference of their capital to the Cuttack District, the Imperial Gaṅgas began to be Oriyas; but most of their matrimonial alliances were still contracted with South Indian royal families and a large number of their officials and protégés were South Indians.

With reference to the geography of Kalinga, mention has to be made of the views of certain scholars based on the repeated reference to the country in the Ceylonese chronicles. Chapter 59 of the *Chūlavamsa* says how king Vijayabāhu I (1055-1110 A.D.) of Laṅkā married the Kalinga princess Trilokasundarī and offered befitting maintenances to her relations Madhukārṇava (Madhukāmārṇava?) Bhīmarāja and Balātkāra of Siṃhapura (capital of

Kaliṅga) for settling them in his kingdom. The younger sister of the Kaliṅga princess, Sundarī by name, was given in marriage to Vijayabāhu's son Vikramabāhu. In this connection, Geiger (*Chūlavamsa trans.*, Part I, p. 211) observes, "Sihapura (Sinhapura) is the town which according to the legend (cf. *Mhvs.* 6.35) was founded in Lāḷa (Rāḍha) by Vijāya's father Sihabāhu. Lāḷa borders in the north of the Kaliṅga kingdom, the home of Triloka-sundarī, as must be inferred from *Mhvs.* 6.1-5. The south-eastern district of Chutea Nagpur to the west of Bengal is still called Singbhum." It has however to be noticed that, in the age of Vijayabāhu (actually from about the end of the sixth to at least about the end of the twelfth century), the name Kaliṅga was exclusively applied to the kingdom of the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara near Srikakulam, who styled themselves as *Kaliṅgādhipatis*. Sinhapura (mod. Singapuram in the same neighbourhood) was, however, the capital of the *Kaliṅgādhipatis* in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. and was no longer the capital of Kaliṅga although it may have been the residence of some scions of the Gaṅga family. Rāḍha and Kaliṅga do not appear to have had contiguous boundaries in any period of history. Sinhapura in Rāḍha (probably modern Singur in the Hoogly District) cannot be regarded as the same as the Kaliṅga capital of that name, identified with modern Singapuram near Srikakulam. The representation of Sinhapura as the capital of Kaliṅga in the *Mahāvamsa* tradition seems to be due to the fact that the chronicle was composed about the fifth century while the *Chūlavamsa* appears merely to have continued the same tradition although the later capital of the country was at Kaliṅganagara (modern Mukhaliṅgam near Srikakulam) and not at Sinhapura.

As regards the north-eastern limit of ancient Kaliṅga, a well-known passage in the Tirtha-yātrā section of the Vanaparvan (114, 3) of the *Mahābhārata* has *esha Kaliṅgaḥ Kaunteya yatra Vaitaranī nadī*. This shows that the river Vaitaranī forming the eastern border of the Cuttack District of Orissa was regarded in ancient times as the boundary of the Kaliṅga country. Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśa* (IV, 38) speaks of the Utkala country lying between the land of the Kaliṅgas and that of the Vaṅgas. The eastern boundary of Utkala can be determined only when we know the exact area inhabited by the Vaṅga people.

Early Graeco-Roman writers represent the emperors of the Nanda and Maurya dynasties of Magadha as the rulers of the Prasii

and the Gangaridae and speak of Palibothra (i.e., Pāṭaliputra, near modern Patna, Bihar) as the capital of the country of the Prasii. There is little doubt the Prasii represented the *Prāchyas* (i.e., the people of the Eastern Division of ancient Bhāratavarsha) of Indian literature. But there is some confusion about the Gangaridae, their name being often Indianised as *Gaṅgā-rāshṭra*, *Gaṅgā-rāḍha* and *Gaṅgāhrdaya*. Greek Gangaridae is however the plural form of *Gaṅgarid* from a base like *Ganges* or *Gangares*; cf. *Sasan Sasanid Sasanidae*; *Akhamenes Akhamenid Akhamenidag*. The word *Gaṅgaridae* therefore means 'the Gangetic people'. The land inhabited by this people is clearly indicated by the author of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (Circa 80 A.D.) and the Geography of Ptolemy (Circa 140 A.D.). Ptolemy (*Geog.*, VII, 1, 18 and 81) mentions the five estuaries of the river Ganges and says, "All the region about the mouths of the Ganges is occupied by the Gangaridae with the following city—Gange, the royal city (i.e., the capital of the country)." It is clear from this that the Gagaridae or Gangetic people received their name from this chief city called Gange, apparently named after the river Ganges. The *Periplus* (para. 63) however applies the name Ganges not only to the river and a city standing on the bank of its principal mouth but also to the country, of which the city was apparently the capital. This book says about the country called Ganges that 'there is a river near it called the Ganges' and that on its bank is a market-town which has the same name as the river Ganges'. The principal product of this country is stated to have been the Gangetic muslin which reminds us not only of the world-wide celebrity of the Dacca muslin in the medieval age but also of the *dukūla*, *kauśika*, *patroṇa* and *prāvara* mentioned in the Sabhāparvan of the *Mahābhārata* as presents made to Yudhishtira by the Vaṅgas, Kaliṅgas, Tāmaliptas and Puṇḍras of Eastern India. See Motichandra, *Geog. Ec. Stud. Mahābh.*, pp. 112-13. But a people called Gāṅga or Gāṅgeya inhabiting lower Bengal and having their capital at a city called Gaṅgā (Greek *Gange* or *Ganges*) is not known from ancient Indian literature. This powerful people, known to foreign writers from the fourth century B.C. to the second century A.D., were apparently known to the Indians by a different name. Curiously enough Kālidāsa, who flourished in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D., locates the Vaṅga people, well-known in ancient Indian literature, exactly in the same region where the Gangaridae or Gangetic people are placed by the early European writers. Canto IV

(verses 36-37) of his *Raghuvamśa* describes how Raghu defeated the Vaṅgas in a naval battle and raised pillars of victory in what is called *Gaṅgā-sroto-ntara* no doubt in the land of the defeated people. The expression *Gaṅgā-sroto-ntareshu* has been explained by the celebrated commentator Mallinātha as *Gaṅgāvāḥ srotasām pravāhānām antareshu dvīpeshu*. Thus the country of the Vaṅgas is located by Kālidāsa in the deltaic region of Southern Bengal which is intersected by the mouths of the river Ganges. This further proves that the Vaṅga people were identical with the Gangaridae who, according to the Graeco-Roman writers, lived in the region about the mouths of the Ganges and had their chief city about the confluence of the Ganges and the Bay of Bengal. The modern representative of this ancient city seems to be the holy place at the junction of the Gaṅgā and the Sāgara, called Sāgara or Gaṅgā-sāgara. The name *Gaṅgā*, suggested by the early Graeco-Roman writers, may be regarded as an *eka-deśa* of the name *Gaṅgā-sāgara*. See Proc. IHC., Bombay, 1947, pp. 91 ff. How the name Vaṅga, originally applied to the wide areas of Southern Bengal came in the medieval age to be confined to the eastern parts of that region together with the adjoining areas is a different story, quite out of place in the present context.

The above discussion will show that in the early centuries of the Christian era, the Vaṅgas lived in the deltaic region of Southern Bengal watered by the mouths of the Ganges and had their capital at the city of Gaṅgā near the junction of the Bhāgī-rathī and the Bay of Bengal and that Gaṅgā-sāgar is the modern representative of the ancient capital of the Vaṅgas. After the name of the capital, the country was also often called Gaṅgā. Early European writers mention the Vaṅgas as the Gangaridae, i.e. the Gāṅga or Gāṅgeya people. The Greek name of the Vaṅga people seems to be the result of a confusion the foreigners made between the sounds of the two names *Vaṅgāḥ* and *Gaṅgā*. The identification of the Vaṅgas and the Gangaridae and the location of their habitat are clearly indicated by the evidence supplied by Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśa*, the Geography of Ptolemy and the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*. Ptolemy and Kālidāsa place the Cambyson or Kapiśā river, identified with the present Kansai running through the Midnapur District, about the western border of the country of the Gangaridae or Vaṅga people. This is supported by the Jain *Prajñāpanā*, according to which Tāmralipti in the present Tamruk

region of Midnapur once formed a part of the Vaṅga country (*Raychaudhuri, Stud. Ind. Ant.*, p. 186). It appears therefore that the Cambyson or Kapiśā, i.e. the modern Kansai, roughly formed the boundary between the land of the Vaṅgas and that of the Utkalas. Thus it may be said that the Utkala country lay between the Kansai and the Vaitaraṇī rivers. Roughly speaking therefore Utkala comprised the present Balasore District of Orissa together with parts of the Cuttack District of that State and of the Midnapur District of West Bengal. The Puri, Ganjam and Cuttack Districts of Orissa then formed parts of the north-eastern area of the Kalinga country.

Sometime ago a copper-plate inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 79-85) was discovered at Sumandala near Khallikot in the Ganjam District. It records the grant of a piece of land in the Khallikot area by a chief named Dharmarāja in 569 A.D. The said chief acknowledged the suzerainty of a monarch named Pṛithivīgraha who is stated to have been ruling the Kalinga *rāshṭra* as a nominal feudatory of the Gupta emperors. This inscription shows beyond doubt that the south-western part of coastal Orissa enjoyed the ancient name of Kalinga as late as the second half of the sixth century A.D. Soon however the name of the kingdom of the Vighraha dynasty, to which Pṛithivīgraha belonged, had to be changed.

Recently another copper-plate inscription (*ibid.*, pp. 328 ff.) the Vighraha dynasty has been discovered in a locality in the Puri District. The inscription records the gift of a village situated in Dakṣiṇa-Tosalī in 599 A.D. by an independent monarch named Lokavighraha who was apparently one of the successors of Pṛithivīgraha of the Sumandala plate. By this time all vestiges of Gupta suzerainty in Orissa were a thing of the past. But what is more important is that Lokavighraha's kingdom has been mentioned in the epigraph as Tosalī and not as Kalinga while he is represented as granting a village in South Tosalī. This shows that Lokavighraha was not only holding sway over Dakṣiṇa-Tosalī but that he also claimed the lordship of Uttara-Tosalī, i.e. North Tosalī. The inscriptions of the Bhauma-Karas of a later age make it clear that the ancient Utkala country in the Balasore region was roughly known as Uttara-Tosalī while Dakṣiṇa-Tosalī comprised the Ganjam-Puri-Cuttack area. We have to determine the reason leading to the introduction of these names about the second half of the sixth

century. This however does not appear to be entirely unintelligible from what we know of the history of Orissa in the period in question.

Shortly before 500 A.D. the Gaṅgas founded a kingdom about the present Srikakulam District of the Andhra State. They assumed the title of *Kaliṅgādhipati*, lord of Kaliṅga, and had their capital at the city of Kaliṅganagara situated in the vicinity of modern Srikakulam. The Vighrahas were holding sway over the Ganjam-Puri-Cuttack area lying immediately to the north-east of the Gaṅga kingdom. Naturally they wanted a new name for their own kingdom to avoid confusion. The new name of their kingdom, viz., Tosali, seems to have been coined after the name of their capital city. That is to say, the Vighrahas probably had their capital at the ancient city of Tosali which is the modern Dhauli in the Puri District. The name Tosali was also extended to the ancient Utkala country probably due to the expansion of Vighraha power over that area. These facts appear to supply the reason underlying the re-naming of the south-western part of coastal Orissa as Dakṣhiṇa-Tosali and the application of the alternative name Uttara-Tosali to the country of the Utkalas. The names Uttara-Tosali and Dakṣhiṇa-Tosali were popular in the age of the Bhauma-Karas who flourished between the ninth and eleventh centuries. Later however the name Tosali lost its popularity and the names Utkala and Uḍra, Oḍra or Auḍra gradually came to be applied to the whole of coastal Orissa and ultimately to the entire Oriya-speaking area.

We have seen how the Utkalas live in the present Balasore District and its neighbourhood. But the original habitat of the Uḍras cannot be determined. They are not mentioned in very early works. Some manuscripts of the *Manusmṛiti* (about the third century A.D.), X, 44, no doubt mention the Uḍras; but many manuscripts of the work read in its place the name of the Aṅgas or Cholas (*Jha, Manusmṛiti-Notes*, Part I, p. 465), and any of these two may have been the original reading. The *Nāṭyaśāstra* ascribed to Bharatamuni mentions the people or land called Uḍra; but the work in its present form does not appear to be earlier than the sixth century A.D. Whatever the antiquity of the name Uḍra may be, it is sometimes used to indicate the whole of coastal Orissa from the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. Probably the Uḍras originally lived in the land lying to the north of the ancient Utkala country. The conquest of Utkala by a king

of the Uḍra country may have led to the use of Uḍra as a synonym of Utkala and the extension of the power of a king of this Uḍra-Utkala region over the south-western part of coastal Orissa at a later date may have been at the root of the use of both the names to indicate the whole of coastal Orissa. The known facts of early Orissan history appear to support this conjecture. Some of the points raised here are discussed in the following section on the expansion of Gupta rule in Orissa with fuller details.

According to a copper-plate inscription (ibid., Vol. XXIII, pp. 201 f.) discovered at Soro in the Balasore District, in 579 A.D. Uttara-Tosalī, i.e. ancient Utkala, was under the rule of a *Mahārāja* named Śāmbhuyaśas, who belonged to the Mudgala or Maudgalya *gotra*. Another inscription (ibid., Vol. IX, pp. 287 f.) of the same monarch, viz. *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* Śāmbhuyaśas, which was found at Patiakella in the Cuttack District, says that in 602 A.D. his feudatory *Mahārāja* Śivarāja was ruling in Dakshiṇa-Tosalī. This record suggests further that king Śāmbhuyaśas, ruler of both Uttara- and Dakshiṇa-Tosalī, i.e. the entire coastal region of Orissa, was born in the Māna family. The name of the present Mānbhūm or Mānabhūmi seems to have been derived from the rulers of this Māna family also known from a few other records. The Bhauma-Kara monarch Śāntikara II (middle of the tenth century) is known to have married Hīrāmahādēvī who was the daughter of king Śīrhamāna probably belonging to the same family as Śāmbhuyaśas. The Mānas appear to have been ruling over the present Manbhūm-Singbhūm region together with the adjacent areas of Orissa.

We have seen how in 569 A.D. Pṛithivīvigraha was ruling over Kalinga, i.e. the north-eastern areas of Kalinga roughly identical with the later Dakshiṇa-Tosalī, and how in 599 A.D. Lōkavigraha, another monarch of the same family, not only ruled over South Tosalī but also claimed lordship over North Tosalī. It has also been shown how *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* Śāmbhuyaśas belonging to the Mudgala *gōtra* and the Māna family ruled over Uttara-Tosalī in 579 A.D. and over Dakshiṇa-Tosalī in 602 A.D. It is clear from these facts that in the latter half of the sixth century there was a struggle between the Vigrahas and the Mānas for the sovereignty of coastal Orissa and that the Vigrahas, who were at first ruling over the whole of Tosalī, both Uttara and Dakshiṇa, were gradually ousted by the Mānas, first from Uttara-Tosalī and then from

Dakṣiṇa-Tosālī. In this way the whole of coastal Orissa came under the suzerainty of the Mānas about the beginning of the seventh century. If these Mānas may be regarded as belonging to the Uḍra clan, we can explain the popularity of the name Uḍra in the sense of the whole of coastal Orissa from the sixth or seventh century. The fact that they conquered Utkala or Uttara-Tosālī considerably before the expansion of their power over Dakṣiṇa-Tosālī may be the reason underlying the use of Uḍra as a synonym of Utkala first in the sense of the Balasore region and then in the sense of the Cuttack-Puri-Ganjam area. If the Māna family belonged to the Uḍra clan, it may be supposed that the Uḍras originally lived in the Mānbhūm-Singhbhūm region and the adjoining parts of Orissa.

In the first quarter of the seventh century, the greatest monarch in Eastern India was Śaśāṅka, king of Gauḍa, who had his capital at Karnasuvarna, near modern Murshidabad in West Bengal. He ousted Māna rule from Orissa and extended his suzerainty as far as Koṅgoda about the borders between the Districts of Puri and Ganjam. In the second quarter of the seventh century, the king of Gauḍa, probably a successor of Śaśāṅka, was disastrously defeated by Harshavardhana of Kanauj and his ally, Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa. As a result of this humiliation of the Gauḍa king, his Śailōdbhava feudatories in Koṅgoda declared their independence while his Datta feudatories in the Balasore-Cuttack region began to rule semi-independently. Some inscriptions of Somadatta and Bhānudatta of this Datta dynasty have been discovered. It seems that the dominions of these Dattas have been described as Uḍra by the Chinese pilgrim Huen-tsang who visited Orissa about 638 A.D. His accounts appear to suggest that the pilgrim applied the name Uḍra to the Balasore-Cuttack-Puri region. King Harshavardhana, who now probably regarded the Gauḍa king as his subordinate ally, invaded Koṅgoda in 643 A.D. to punish the Śailodbhavas on behalf of the Gauḍa monarch.

During the eighth century A.D., the Śailodbhavas continued their independent rule in Koṅgoda in the Puri-Ganjam region. But the political condition of the Balasore-Cuttack area in this age is not quite clear. According to Chinese evidence, a Buddhist king having a name like Śubhaṅkarasimha ruled over the Uḍra country in 795 A.D. He seems to have been a contemporary of the later Śailodbhavas of the Ganjam-Puri area and ruled over the Cuttack-

Balasore region. In 831 A.D. the Bhauma-Karas established their capital at the ancient city of Virajā which is the modern Jāipur (Yāyapura or Yājapura). They founded a new city called Guhēśvarapāṭaka or Guhadevapāṭaka in the suburbs of Jāipur and this remained the Bhauma-Kara capital till the end of Bhauma-Kara rule in the eleventh century. It was apparently the Bhauma-Karas who overthrew Śailodbhava rule from Koṅgoda which now formed a part of Dakṣiṇa-Tosalī.

The Somavaṁśīs established their power in the Patna-Sonpur region in the upper Mahānadī valley in the tenth century. The Somavaṁśī king Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya (circa 935-70 A.D.) issued most of his charters from Suvarṇapura (Sonpur). His son and successor, Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I (circa 970-1000 A.D.) transferred his capital to the new city of Yayātinagara (modern Binka) built by and named after himself. In the second quarter of the eleventh century, the Somavaṁśī king Mahāśivagupta Yayāti III Chandīhara (circa 1025-60 A.D.) extended his power over the coastal regions of Orissa. The story of the transference of the lordship of that region from the Bhauma-Karas to the Somavaṁśīs is not clearly known. But there is little doubt that Yayāti III built a city, named Yayātinagara after himself, in the erstwhile Bhauma-Kara kingdom. This city is mentioned in the *Mādalā Pāñjī* as Abhinava-Yayātinagara (i.e. the new Yayātinagara) in its description of the Gaṅga kings who conquered coastal Orissa from the Somavaṁśīs but had little to do with the upper valley of the Mahānadī. The Gaṅga king Anaṅgabhīma III seems to be described in this work (ed. Mahanti, p. 28) as *Abhinava-Yayātinagara-Vishṇu*. The Muslim authors of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries mentioned the Gaṅga kingdom of Jāinagar (no doubt a corruption of the name *Yayātinagara*) apparently after the Abhinava-Yayātinagara of the *Mādalā Pāñjī*, which seems to have continued to remain the capital of coastal Orissa under the Gaṅgas for some time.

About the beginning of the twelfth century A.D., the Gaṅga king Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga (1078-1147 A.D.) of Kalīṅga-nagara conquered the Puri-Cuttack-Balasore region from the Somavaṁśīs. There is evidence to show that his descendants later transferred the Gaṅga capital to Cuttack. According to the Nagari plates (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 235 ff.) of Anaṅgabhīma III (circa 1211-38 A.D.), great-grandson of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga,

that king had his headquarters at Abhinava-Vāraṇāsī-kaṭaka i.e. the present Barabati area of Cuttack. The *Mādalā Pāñjī* seems to suggest that Anaṅgabhīma III at first had been residing at Chaudvāra-Kaṭaka and later transferred his capital to Vāraṇāsī-Kaṭaka built by himself on the site of the village of Barabati on the opposite bank of the Mahānadī. As the *Mādalā Pāñjī* uses the name Abhinava-Yayātinagara in the description of this king, it may be supposed that it was the earlier name of Cuttack, which was therefore the source of the name Jājnagar used by the Muslim writers of the early medieval period to indicate the Gaṅga kingdom covering coastal Orissa. But it seems to us that Abhinava-Yayātinagara or Jājnagar should better be identified with modern Jājpur. This is because Jājpur seems to be a corruption of the name Yayātipura which is again practically the same as Yayātinagara, both meaning "the city of Yayāti". That Jājpur was once the headquarters of the Imperial Gaṅgas seems to be supported by the following tradition in the description of Anaṅgabhīma in some manuscripts of the *Mādalā Pāñjī*: *e rājā Yājapuranagara chaudvare Kaṭake vije kari thānti* (Mahanti, op. cit., p. 34). In the description of the occupation of the Kesarī (i.e. Somavarṇśī) kingdom by Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga also we have the passage: *Yājapura Kaṭake praveśa hoilā* (ibid., p. 22).

We have seen that the Bhauma-Kara emperors had their capital at Virajā, i.e. the modern Jājpur, in the suburbs of which they built their new capital named Guheśvarapāṭaka or Guhadevapāṭaka. In the rule of coastal Orissa, these Bhauma-Karas were succeeded by the Somavarṇśī king Mahāśivagupta Yayāti III Chandihara. It is possible to think that Yayāti III retained the headquarters of this newly acquired territory at its old capital and that it was he who renamed Guheśvarapāṭaka or Guhadevapāṭaka after himself as Yayātinagara or Yayātipura. The very name of modern Jājpur (*Yayāipura > Yayāipura > Yāyāipura > Yāyipura > Jājpur*) appears to support this conjecture. It seems that the capital of the coastal Orissa was retained at the same city for sometime even after the overthrow of Somavarṇśī rule from that area by the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara. If the Gaṅga conquerors of coastal Orissa ruled the country from Yayātinagara or Yayātipura, i.e. modern Jājpur, before the transference of its headquarters to the Cuttack region, we can easily explain why the Muslim writers of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries men-

tioned the kingdom of the Gaṅgas in Orissa as Jājñagar (Yayātinagara).

About 1360 A.D., during the reign of the Gaṅga king Bhānu III (circa 1352-78 A.D.), Sultān Firūz Shāh of the Tughluk dynasty of Delhi led an expedition against the Gaṅga capital. An account of this expedition is found in the *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī* by Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afif. In this work the kingdom of the Gaṅga monarch has been called Jājñagar but his capital has been mentioned as Vārāṇasī, i.e. Vārāṇasīkattaka which is the present Barabati area of Cuttack. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 247-48. It seems that, if the earlier name of Cuttack was Yayātinagara and if that was the reason for the early Muslim writers applying the name Jājñagar to the Gaṅga kingdom, Shams-i-Sirāj would not have used two different names to indicate the capital and kingdom of the Gaṅga king without any comment. Indeed it becomes rather difficult in that case to understand why he uses the new name for the city but its old name to indicate the kingdom of which it was the capital. The description of the Gaṅga capital and kingdom in the *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī* seems to suggest that Jājñagar as the name of the Gaṅga kingdom had nothing to do with Vārāṇasī or Cuttack which was then its capital.

Muslim rule was established in the western and northern parts of Bengal about the beginning of the thirteenth century. From that time, the Muslim rulers of Bengal often led expeditions against the Gaṅga kingdom. This may have been the cause underlying the transference of the Gaṅga capital from Jājñagar or Jājpur, which was nearer the borders of the Muslim territories of Bengal, to Cuttack which lay further away. But the Muslim writers appear to have continued the use of the name Jājñagar to indicate the Gaṅga kingdom for sometime even after the transference of the Gaṅga headquarters from the city of that name. The name Kaṭaka or Cuttack suggests that it was originally a camping ground of the Gaṅga king's forces. It is not impossible that the story of the Gaṅga king's attempt to check Muslim aggression from the east is hidden under this name of the new capital of his kingdom.*

* For references, see especially *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 79 ff., 179 ff., 235 ff., 328 ff.; or *Hist. Res. Journ.*, Vol. I, pp. 22 ff., 289 ff.; *Proc. Ind. Hist. Cong.*, 1947, pp. 91 ff.

II. Gupta Rule in Orissa

In his celebrated work entitled *History of Orissa* (Vol. I, pp. 116-17), published 25 years ago, the late Mr. R. D. Banerji speaks of the South Indian expedition of the Imperial Gupta monarch Samudragupta (circa 340-76 A.D.) of Magadha, in the course of which the emperor is known to have come into conflict with certain kings ruling over parts of the present Ganjam-Srikakulam region of the ancient Kalinga country. But he observes, "The invader either proceeded or receded leaving the country unchanged except for the resultant track of misery and starvation along his wake. We do not know what happened to the three provinces of Kalinga afterwards. Perhaps the country remained under numerous petty chiefs who fought continuously with each other. We do not know of any attempt on the part of any other Gupta king to conquer or annex Orissa. There is no evidence whatever to prove that any part of Orissa or Kalinga was included in the Gupta empire. The country was distinctly within the zone... of Gupta political influence and culture. This is proved in the first instance by the use of the Gupta era in certain inscriptions." In this connection Banerji draws our attention to the following three inscriptions: (1) the Ganjam (Orissa) plates (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, pp. 143 f.) issued in the Gupta year 300 (619 A.D.) by a Śailodbhava chief of Koṅgoda who acknowledged the suzerainty of Śaśāṅka, king of Gauḍa, (2) the Patiakella (Cuttack District, Orissa) plate (*ibid.*, Vol. IX, pp. 287 f.) issued in the year 283 (602 A.D.) by *Mahārāja Śivarāja* who was a feudatory of the Māna king Śambhuyaśas (wrongly read by Banerji as *Śagguyayyana* and by Sten Konow as *Śambhuyyaya*), and (3) the Arang (Raipur District, Madhya Pradesh) plate (*ibid.*, pp. 344 ff.) issued in the Gupta year 282 (601 A.D.) by a king named *Mahārāja Bhīmasena II* who apparently ruled over parts of the ancient South Kosala country.

What Banerji really meant by the expression 'three provinces of Kalinga' is not quite clear from the passage quoted above. Elsewhere in the same work (p. 54), 'the three different divisions of Orissa' are enumerated as: (1) the land of the Kalingas who were regarded as inhabitants of Southern India, and (2-3) the countries of the Oḍras of Northern Orissa and the Utkalas of the hilly tracts who were counted among the peoples inhabiting the Vindhyan range. Unfortunately, in the same context, the author

also mentions 'the people of Tosala or Central Orissa'. In his map of Trikalīṅga, which faces p. 49 of the work, Banerji appears to indicate the 'three Kālīṅgas' lying on the Bay of Bengal as: (1) Kālīṅga between the Godāvārī and the Vamśadharā, (2) Tosālī between the Vamśadharā and the Vaitaraṇī, and (3) Utkala between the Vaitaraṇī and the Dāmodar. All this exhibits a somewhat confused state of thinking. The fact is that Banerji had no clear idea about the extent of Kālīṅga in the different periods of early Indian history. Although we have already discussed the geography of Kālīṅga, the main points may be reiterated here for ready reference.

It is well-known that the Maurya emperor Aśoka (circa 272-232 B.C.) conquered the Kālīṅga people and established one of his administrative headquarters in their country at the city of Tosālī, later also called Tosalā although the land named after the city was sometimes called Tosala. These names were coined on the analogy of the names of the city of Kosalā and the country of Kosala. The city of Tosālī has been identified with modern Dhauli near Bhubaneswar in the Puri District. The Puri District therefore appears to have formed an integral part of Kālīṅga in the age of the Mauryas. In the first century B.C., king Khāravela of Kālīṅga is known to have ruled over the coastcountry including the Bhubaneswar region very probably from a locality not far from modern Dhauli. The inclusion of part of the Cuttack District in ancient Kālīṅga is suggested by the Ningondi grant (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 112 ff.) of the Māṭhara king Prabhāñjanavarman who flourished in the fifth or sixth century A.D. and is described as a *sakala-Kālīṅgādhipati*, i.e. 'lord of the entire Kālīṅga country'. The Māṭharas, who had their original capital at Piṣṭapura, modern Pithapuram in the Godavari District, thus claimed to be lords of Kālīṅga (cf. *Suc. Sat.*, pp. 74 ff.). In the Ningondi record, the father of Prabhāñjanavarman, lord of Kālīṅga, is stated to have ruled over the coastland between the Kṛṣṇā and the Mahānadī, which thus appear to have been mentioned as the two boundaries of the Kālīṅga country. But a passage of the *Mahābhārata* (III, 114, 3), undoubtedly referring to an earlier age, speaks of the river Vaitaraṇī, running by the eastern border of the Cuttack District, as the boundary of the country inhabited by the Kālīṅga people. Thus, originally, the Ganjam-Puri-Cuttack region of modern Orissa was included in Kālīṅga which extended towards the south-west upto the river Godāvārī or even the Kṛṣṇā. Kālidāsa's

Raghuvamśa (IV, 38 ff.) associates the Kalinga country with the Mahendra mountain in the Ganjam District and appears to locate the people called Utkala between the land of the Kalingas and the river Kapiśā which is the modern Kānsāi running through the Midnapur District of West Bengal. The Utkalas thus lived about the present Balasore region together with parts of the Midnapur District. How, at a later period, the Ganjam-Puri-Cuttack-Balasore area came to be known after the ancient city of Tosali has already been explained in the previous section. It has also been pointed out that the present Patna-Sambalpur region formed a part of the ancient South Kosala country till the medieval period while the people called Udra, Odra or Auḍra who later gave their name to the whole of the Oriya-speaking land, were probably at first the northern neighbours of the Utkalas and inhabited the Manbhum region of Bihar and the adjoining areas of Orissa. The Kosalas were a people quite distinct from the Kalingas; but the Utkalas and Udras may have been originally branches of the Kalinga people, although we cannot be definite on this point until further evidence is forthcoming.

The Allahabad pillar inscription (*Sel. Ins.*, pp. 354 ff.) of Samudragupta mentions certain kings of South India who were defeated by the Gupta emperor but were reinstated in their respective kingdoms. The first amongst these was king Mahendra of Kosala, i.e. South Kosala, roughly comprising the present Raipur-Bilaspur area of Madhya Pradesh and the Patna-Sambalpur region of Orissa. The evidence of Gupta influence in this area, referred to by Banerji, is noticed in the Arang copper-plate inscription of Mahārāja *Bhimasena* II, son of Dayitavarman, grandson of Bhīmasena I and great-grandson of Vibhīṣaṇa who was the son of Dayita I and grandson of the royal sage Śūra. The date of this inscription is given as the 18th day of the month of Bhādra in the year 282 of the Guptas (*Guptānām samvatsara-śate* 282). In this connection, we may now mention two other facts which were unknown to Banerji. In the first place, the influence of Gupta coin-types has been traced on the coinage of the kings of Śarabhapura in South Kosala. These kings had their capital originally at Śarabhapura and later at Śrīpura which is the modern Sirpur in the Raipur District, Madhya Pradesh. Śarabhapura has not yet been identified satisfactorily. Different scholars have located it at Sambalpur, Sarangarh, Sarpagarh and other places (*IHQ*, Vol. XIX, p. 144, note). But since the charters issued from

Śarabhapura have been discovered mostly about the Raipur District, the city appears to have been situated near about modern Sirpur, the later Capital of the family, lying in the same District. Whatever that may be, we have some coins, issued by king Prasannamātra of Śarabhapura, which bear the Vaishnavite symbols of Garuḍa, discus and conch-shell and it is well-known that Garuḍa was not only the crest of the Gupta emperors of Magadha but is one of the most remarkable symbols on their coinage. Another interesting fact is that some coins of a second ruler, probably of the same royal family of South Kōsala, have been recently discovered along with those of Prasannamātra (*JNSI*, Vol. X, pp. 137 ff.; Vol. XVI, p. 216). His name is Mahendrāditya. Since, in ancient India, feudatories are known to have often named their children after their overlords (*Suc. Sat.*, p. 176; cf. p. 223), it seems very likely that Mahendrāditya of the said coins was named after the Gupta monarch Kumāragupta I Mahendrāditya (314-55 A.D.). This may indicate that Gupta suzerainty was acknowledged by the said ruling family of South Kosala which comprised parts of modern Orissa.

As we have already indicated above, modern Pithapuram (ancient Pishtapura) was the headquarters of certain *Kaliṅgādhipatis* who flourished in the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. In the list of South Indian kings first defeated but later reinstated by Samudragupta, mention is made of king Mahendragiri of Pishtapura and a number of his neighbours including the Śālāṅkāyana king Hastivarman of Veṅgī, modern Pedda-Vegi near Ellore in the Godavari District. But these rulers flourishing in the southwestern part of the ancient Kaliṅga country had nothing to do with the Oriya-speaking area of today. Three other kings of the list are: (1) Damana of Eraṇḍapalla, (2) Svāmidatta of Koṭṭūra and (3) Kubera of Devarāshṭra (*PHAI*, 1950, pp. 539-40). Eraṇḍapalla has been identified variously with modern Erandapali near Sri-kakulam, Yeṇḍipalli near Visakhapatnam and Eṇḍapilli near Ellore, although the first of these three names exhibits the closest resemblance with the form found in the Allahabad pillar inscription. Koṭṭūra is either the place of that name at the foot of the hills in the Visakhapatnam District or the same as modern Kothoor, 12 miles to the south-east of Mahendragiri in the Ganjam District. Devarāshṭra is known to have been the ancient name of the modern Yellamanchili Taluk of the Visakhapatnam District. Thus Samudra-

gupta seems to have passed from the Raipur-Bilaspur-Sambalpur area to the Ganjam-Srikakulam region of the coast country and thence proceeded towards the south-west along the coast. The Allahabad pillar inscription does not give us any information regarding the Gupta monarch's conflict or contact with any ruler of the Puri-Cuttack-Balasore region.

That the heart of Orissa came under the political influence of the Guptas was suggested by Banerji on the strength of the use of the Gupta era in the Ganjam plates of the time of Śaśāṅka and the Patiakella plate of the time of Śabhuyāśas, although some scholars were doubtful in regard to the evidence of these records. The Ganjam inscription no doubt gives the date in the year 300 of the *Gauṇt-ābda*, i.e. the era of the Guptas. But, as Banerji himself has pointed out, 'after the discovery of that inscription scholars considered that the Gupta era was used [in it] because Śaśāṅka himself came from a province where the Gupta era was used' (*op. cit.*, p. 117). Much of the force of this argument has, however, been taken away now by the discovery of the Midnapur plates (cf. *JRASB*, Vol. XI, pp. 1 ff.) of the time of king Śaśāṅka as these documents are dated not in the Gupta era but in Śaśāṅka's regnal reckoning. This shows that the use of the Gupta era was more popular in Orissa than in the Midnapur region of West Bengal.

The evidence of the Patiakella inscription, the second record on which Banerji's conjecture about Gupta political influence in the heart of Orissa was based, was regarded by scholars as even more dubious. The date is given here in the words: *pravarttamāne Māṇa(na)-vaṁśa-rājya-kāle tryadhik - āśīty - uttara - varsha - śata-dvaye*, i.e. in the year 283 during the sovereignty of the Māṇa royal family, without any reference to the Guptas. Some scholars therefore were inclined to refer the year 283 in the date of the Patiakella plate to an era that was supposed to have been founded by the rulers of the Māṇa dynasty to which king Śambhuyāśas belonged, while others referred it to the Traikūṭaka-Kalachuri-Chedi era starting from 248 A.D. Of course Banerji was right and his critics were certainly wrong. To suggest the existence of a new era on the basis of a single inscription when it is possible to refer the date of that record to a known era prevalent about the same age in the neighbouring areas is absolutely unwarranted and uncalled for. Since numerous inscriptions of the fifth and

sixth centuries, discovered in the northern and eastern parts of Bengal, were found to bear dates in the Gupta era and at least one document coming from Ganjam in Orissa was known to be dated in the year 300 of the *Gauṇt-ābda*, Banerji's suggestion regarding the use of the same era in the Patiakella inscription coming from the Cuttack District was the most natural and probable. The supporters of the theory referring the date of the Patiakella plate to the Traikūṭaka-Kalachuri-Chedi era again had little idea about the spread of the Indian eras. The said era is known to have originated in the Konkan-Maharashtra region in Western India and to have been carried by the Kalachuris of those parts ultimately to the Jabulpur area of Central India at a later date. There is absolutely no evidence to prove that the era migrated to any other part of India in any period of history. We have now a second inscription of Śambhuyaśas from Soro in the Balasore District (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 201-02). It is dated in the year 260 (579 A.D.), although here also there is no mention of the Guptas. But we have now more substantial evidence not only in favour of Gupta influence in Orissa but even of the spread of Gupta rule in the land. In this connection, I would like to draw your attention to two recently discovered inscriptions. They are the Sumandala plates (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 79 ff.) of the time of Prithivivigraha and the Pedda-Dugam plates (*JAHS*, Vol. XXI, pp. 159 ff.) of Śatrudamana.

The first of the two records was discovered at the village of Samundala in the former Khallikot State now merged in the Ganjam District. The date of the inscription is indicated in the words: *vartamāna-Gupta-rājye varshaśata-dvaye pañchāśad-uttare*, i.e. in the year 250 during the sovereignty of the Guptas. The grant was made on the occasion of the Uttarāyana falling on the 11th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Māgha in the year 250 undoubtedly of the Gupta era. The date corresponds to the 20th December, 569 A.D. The inscription records the grant of a village called Ardhākamaṇḍuka together with another locality called Chandanavāṭaka both situated in the district called Parakkhalamārga. It was issued by *Māhārāja* Dharmarāja who was ruling at Padmakholi in the Khallikot region as a subordinate of Prithivivigraha-bhaṭṭāraka when the latter was governing Kalinga-rāshtra obviously forming a part of the Gupta empire. The important new informations supplied by the Samandala inscription are that, in the

Gupta year 250 (569 A.D.), the *rājya*, i.e. the empire or sovereignty, of the Guptas was *varttamāna*, i.e. still existing, and that the *rāshtra* (territory or province) of Kalinga, no doubt indicating only a part of the ancient land of that name, formed a part of the Gupta empire. We have also to adjust Prithivivigraha's rule over Kalinga-rāshtra, apparently as a viceroy of the Imperial Guptas, in the second half of the 6th century A.D. with the known facts of Orissan history. But before taking up these points for discussion, let us refer to the other inscription which appears to throw some additional light on the subject.

The copper-plate inscription of Mahārāja Śatrudamana was discovered in the village of Pedda-Dugam in the Narasannapet Taluk of the Srikakulam District, Andhra. It is dated in the 9th year of the reign probably of Śatrudamana himself. Śatrudamana had his headquarters at Simhapura which has been identified with modern Singupuram near Srikakulam. The inscription may be assigned on palaeographical grounds to a date about the beginning of the fifth century A.D. We know that the history of Kalinga in the fifth and sixth centuries was marked by the rivalry for supremacy between the kings of Pishtapura and those of Central Kalinga, especially the rulers of Simhapura (*Age of Imp. Un.*, pp. 211 ff.). Kings Umavarman and Chaṇḍavarman of Pitribhaktadynasty had one of their capitals at Simhapura. The Mātharas, who originally ruled from Pishtapura, appear to have ousted the Pitribhaktas from Central Kalinga. The Māthara king Śaktivarman of the Ragolu plates (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, pp. 1 ff.), issued from Pishtapura, is known to have granted land near modern Srikakulam while his son Prabhañjanavarman and grandson Anantaśaktivarman issued their Ningondi and Sakunaka grants from Simhapura, the former capital of the Pitribhaktas. Another ruling family of Central Kalinga was that of the Vāsishthas of Devarāshtra, i.e., the Yellamancili area of the Visakhapatnam District. These Vāsishthas appear to have extended their power over the Pishtapura region and extirpated the Mātharas sometime about the first quarter of the sixth century A.D. King Śatrudamana of the Pedda-Dugam inscription seems to be earlier than all the kings mentioned above as having made Simhapura their headquarters. I do not think that Śatrudamana can be identified with king Damana mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription as having been defeated by Samudragupta. The names Damana and Śatrudamana are not the same. Moreover, while Śatrudamana had his capital

at Simhapura, Damana, contemporary of Samudragupta, is stated to have had his headquarters at a place called Eraṇḍapalla.

The most interesting thing to be noticed in this connection is that, while most of the kings of Piśhāpura and Simhapura so far known claimed to have been *Kaliṅg-ādhipatis* and all of them were apparently independent monarchs, king Śātrudamana of the Pedda-Dugam plates owed allegiance to a paramount suzerain. He no doubt enjoyed the title *Mahārāja* like his independent successors at Simhapura; but he is described in his record as *Bhaṭṭāraka-pāda-parigrhīta*, i.e., favoured by his overlord. The name of the Bhaṭṭāraka or paramount ruler, whose suzerainty was acknowledged by Śātrudamana, is, however, not mentioned in the epigraph; but the style *Bhaṭṭāraka-pāda-parigrhīta* applied to a *Mahārāja* reminds us of similar epithets used in relation to certain feudatories of the Gupta emperors (cf. *IHQ*, Vol. XXII, pp. 64 f.). We know that, in the fourth and fifth centuries, independent monarchs of South India, including certain performers of the Aśvamedha sacrifice, enjoyed the title *Mahārāja* and that it was the Gupta emperors who popularised among independent rulers all over North India and partly over South India the imperial titles *Paramabhāṭṭāraka* and *Mahārājādhirāja*. The feudatories (including those who were semi-independent) and subordinate allies of the early monarchs of the Gupta family enjoyed the title *Mahārāja* and were often called *Paramabhāṭṭāraka-pād-ānudyāta*, i.e., meditating on or favoured by the overlord. Instead of the expression *pād-ānudyāta*, *pāda-parigrhīta* also often occurs in the inscriptions of the Gupta age in connection with the subordinates of the Gupta emperors (*Sel. Ins.*, pp. 283, 285, 310, 324, 328, 338). It is therefore very probable that the overlord of *Mahārāja* Śātrudamana was a Gupta monarch. It has also to be noticed that we do not know of any other imperial power to which the *Mahārāja* of Simhapura could have possibly owed allegiance, while Gupta suzerainty is known to have been acknowledged in the same region by Prthivivigraha-bhaṭṭāraka at a slightly later date. The non-mention of the name of Śātrudamana's overlord in the Pedda-Dugam plates and the dating of the charter in Śātrudamana's own regnal reckoning would suggest that at the time of issuing the grant the king was enjoying a semi-independent status.

The combined testimony of the Sumandala and Pedda-Dugam inscriptions thus shows that the Ganjam-Srikakulam region

formed a part of the Gupta empire. But the rule of the Vighrahas was not confined to the Ganjam area. In the Kanas plate (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 328 ff.), Lokavighraha-bhaṭṭāraka, who was apparently a successor of Pṛthivīvighraha, claims to have ruled over the Tosālī country comprising the Ganjam-Puri-Cuttack-Balasore region, although the land granted by him was situated in Dakṣhiṇa-Tosālī, i.e., the Ganjam-Puri-Cuttack area. It is thus possible to think that Pṛthivīvighraha ruled over the Tosālī country as a feudatory of the Guptas. The use of the Gupta era in the records of Śambhuyaśas, of which one records a grant in Uttara-Tosālī and the other in Dakṣhiṇa-Tosālī, also suggests that the whole of Tosālī formed a part of the empire of the Guptas. In this connection it may also be mentioned that Gupta coins as well as sculptures influenced by Gupta art tradition have been discovered in Orissa in fairly large numbers. It is however difficult to say when exactly Orissa was annexed to the Gupta empire.

While Pṛthivīvighraha was governing Kalinga-rāshṭra as a viceroy of the Imperial Guptas in the Gupta year 250 (569 A.D.), Lokavighraha is known from his copper-plate inscription found at Kanas in the Puri District to have been ruling over Tosālī as an independent monarch in the Gupta year 280 (599 A.D.). Gupta rule in Orissa therefore ended before the close of the 6th century A.D. We also see that the history of Orissa about this time was characterised by the rivalry for supremacy between the Vighrahas and Mānas. There is epigraphic evidence to show that the Māna king, Śambhuyaśas of the Maudgalya-gotra was ruling over Uttara-Tosālī in the Gupta year 260 (579 A.D.) and over Dakṣhiṇa-Tosālī in the Gupta year 283 (602 A.D.). It is clear therefore that the Mānas ousted the Vighrahas first from Uttara-Tosālī by 579 A.D. and then from Dakṣhiṇa-Tosālī by 602 A.D. This also points to the fact that Gupta rule ended in the Balasore region before 579 A.D. The expansion of the rule of Śambhuyaśas over Dakṣhiṇa-Tosālī by 602 A.D. suggests the discomfiture of the Vighrahas at the hands of the Mānas. It also appears that Lokavighraha could have hardly had any effective hold on Uttara-Tosālī in 599 A.D. His claim to have held sway over the entire Tosālī country therefore has to be regarded as an echo of an earlier period when the Vighrahas were actually ruling over the Ganjam-Puri-Cuttack-Balasore region. The struggle between the Vighrahas and Mānas seems to have facilitated the conquest of Orissa, probably from the Mānas, by king Śaśāṅka

of Gauḍa sometime before 619 A.D. During this period of Gauḍa supremacy in Orissa, the Midnapur-Balasore-Cuttack-Puri region seems to have been governed by the viceroys of a family of Dattas. We have already inscriptions of the viceregal rulers Somadatta and Bhānudatta belonging to this family. The four copper plates (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 201-03) from Soro in the Balasore District, called Uttara-Tosalī or Oḍra-vishaya in the inscriptions, show that the said area was first under Śambhuyāśas in 579 A.D., then under a feudatory ruler named Somadatta in his 15th regnal year and lastly under Bhānudatta in his 5th regnal year. A village of that locality, which had been granted by Somadatta in favour of two Brāhmaṇas in the 15th year of his rule, was re-granted by Bhānudatta to the same donees as well as to two other members of the same family, apparently on the latter's representation and not long after the date of Somadatta's grant. The two Midnapur plates (cf. *JRASBL*, Vol XI, pp. 7-9) show that Daṇḍabhukti-maṇḍala in the western part of the Midnapur District was being ruled in the 8th regnal year of Śaśāṅka, king of Gauḍa, by *Mahāpratīhāra* Śubhākīrti, but that the same *maṇḍala* or district, together with the territory of Utkala, was under the rule of *Sāmanta-Mahārāja* Somadatta in the 19th regnal year of the same monarch. Thus Somadatta was a subordinate of Śaśāṅka of Gauḍa who is known to have been ruling in the first quarter of the 7th century at least from 605 to 619 A.D. In 619 A.D., Śaśāṅka's suzerainty was acknowledged by the Śailodbhava ruler of Kongoda on the borders of the Puri and Ganjam Districts. These facts point to the expansion of Gauḍa rule over both Uttara-Tosalī and Dakṣiṇa-Tosalī. The rule of Somadatta in Utkala or Uttara-Tosalī as a vassal of Śaśāṅka points to the extirpation of the supremacy of the Mānas at least from that region before the 19th regnal year of the Gauḍa monarch. But the two Soro inscriptions of Somadatta, unlike the Midnapur plate of his time, are dated in the 15th year of his own reign and not in the regnal reckoning of his overlord. The same is the case with the charters of Bhānudatta who was probably Somadatta's successor in Utkala, Oḍra-vishaya or Uttara-Tosalī. The dating of these charters in the regnal reckoning of the feudatories with a rather vague mention of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* or overlord seems to suggest that they were issued after the defeat of Śaśāṅka or his successor at the hands of Harshavardhana of Kanauj and Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa sometime before 643 A.D., when the hold of the Gauḍa emperor on the feudatories

must have begun to decline. The Śailōdbhava chief Sainyabhīta Mādhavavarman II Śrīnivāsa of Koṅgoda, who acknowledged Śaśāṅka's suzerainty in 619 A.D., soon assumed independence and celebrated the Aśvamedha sacrifice in token thereof. The Dattas of the Balasore-Cuttack-Puri area appear also to have been raising their head and it is possible to think that Harshavardhana, who is known to have led an expedition as far as Koṅgoda about 643 A.D., tried to subdue the erstwhile feudatories of the Gauḍa king on behalf of the latter whom he now considered to be one of his subordinate allies. But he died in 647 A.D. and the Gauḍas do not appear to have succeeded in regaining their lost hold on Orissa. In 637 A.D. the celebrated Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-tsang visited the Uḍra country comprising the Balasore-Cuttack-Puri region, which then seems to have been under the rule of the Dattas, and also the kingdom of Koṅgoda where the Śailōdbhavas were then ruling as independent monarchs.

The mighty fabric of the great empire of the Guptas, covering wide areas of Northern India, began to disintegrate about the close of the fifth century A.D. The Eran inscription (*Sel. Ins.*, pp. 335-36) of the Gupta year 165 (484 A.D.) points to the hold of the Gupta emperor Budhagupta (477-95 A.D.), over East Malwa. But the Eran inscription (*ibid.*, pp. 396 f.), of the Hūṇa king Toramāṇa (circa 500-15 A.D.), dated in his first regnal year, and the Gwalior inscription (*ibid.*, pp. 400 ff.), of his son Mihirakula (circa 515-35 A.D.), dated in his fifteenth regnal year, show that Malwa, both east and west, no longer formed parts of the Gupta empire. The Eran inscription (*ibid.*, pp. 335-36) of Bhānugupta, dated in the Gupta year 191 (510 A.D.), suggests that the Imperial Guptas succeeded in reconquering at least parts of East Malwa while the Mandasor inscription (*ibid.*, pp. 393 ff.) of Yaśodharman (circa 525-35 A.D.), who claims to have defeated Mihirakula and established his suzerainty over areas which even the Guptas and Hūṇas had failed to subdue, suggests that West Malwa was lost to the imperial Guptas permanently. About this time the house of the so-called Later Guptas, who were apparently feudatories of the Imperial Guptas originally, began to grow powerful in East Malwa. The Maitrakas of Valabhī in Kathiawar appear to have acknowledged Gupta supremacy as late as the Gupta year 183 corresponding to 502 A.D. (*ibid.*, pp. 403 ff.); but gradually they began to issue charters without reference to their overlords. This is in short the

story of the secession of the westernmost provinces of the Gupta empire.

Of the former feudatories of the Gupta emperors, whose rise was hastening the downfall of the empire, the most prominent were, besides the Later Guptas of East Malwa, the Maukharis settled in U.P., and Bihar and the Gauḍas originally of South-west Bengal. Of these, the Maukharis were associated with the heart of the Gupta empire and were apparently either responsible for or intimately connected with the overthrow of the Guptas from Bihar and U.P. The first Maukhari ruler to have assumed imperial title was Īśānavarman (cf. Bhandarkar's List, No. 1602, etc.), who is mentioned as an independent monarch in the inscription of his son Sūryavarman, found at Haraha in the Bara-Banki District, U.P., dated in Vikrama Saṁvat 611 corresponding to 553-54 A.D., (ibid., No. 10). The fragmentary Jaunpur (U.P.) inscription seems also to belong to the same king (cf. *JRASBL*, Vol. XI, pp. 69 ff.). These records prove that Gupta supremacy ceased to be acknowledged in U.P. by 554 A.D. But whether Bihar, in which lay the ancient city of Pāṭaliputra, capital of the Imperial Guptas, also formed a part of Īśānavarman's dominions by that time cannot be determined with precision. The Haraha inscription speaks of Īśānavarman's victorious campaign with the Gauḍas while the Deo-Baranark inscription and the Rohtasgarh seal-matrix point respectively to the occupation of the Shahabad District of Bihar about the last quarter of the sixth century first by the Maukhari kings Śarvavarman and Avantivarman, son and grandson of Īśānavarman, and then by *Mahāsāmanta* Śaśāṅka who later ascended the Gauḍa throne but had been previously ruling over the Shahabad region apparently as a viceroy of the contemporary Gauḍa monarch. This may suggest that the Maukharis had ousted Gupta rule from Bihar which was conquered by the Gauḍas from them about the close of the sixth century. The evidence of the Deo-Baranark inscription in regard to the Maukhari occupation of Bihar seems to be supported by the discovery of some earlier records (Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 1603 ff.), of a branch of the Maukhari family in the Gaya District as well as by the Sirpur Lakshmaṇa temple inscription (*M. K. Hist. Soc. Papers*, Vol. II, p. 19, v. 16) of Śivagupta (*Mahāśivagupta*) Bālārjuna of the Pāṇḍuvamśa of South Kosala, who flourished about the last quarter of the 6th and the first quarter of the 7th century. The Sirpur inscription refers to a ruler named Sūr-

yavarman, rightly identified with Maukhari Īśānavarman's son of the same name, as born in the Varman family that held sway over Magadha (*JRASBL*, op. cit., p. 72; *IHQ*, Vol. XIX, p. 277). The absence of any reference to the overlord of the chief Nandana in his Amauna (Gaya District, Bihar) plate of the Gupta year 232 corresponding to 552 A.D. (Bhandarkar's List, No. 1310) may suggest a confusion in the political condition of Bihar resulting from the overthrow of the Imperial Guptas.

Professor H. C. Raychaudhuri (*PHAI*, 1950, pp. 626 ff.), draws our attention to the following Jain tradition recorded in Jinasena's *Harivaṃśa Purāṇa* (Chapter LX), composed in Śaka 705 or 783 A.D. (Winternitz, *Hist. Ind. Lit.*, Vol. II, p. 495):

Guptānām cha śata-dvayam

ekatrīmśach = cha varshāṇi

kālavidbhir = udāhṛitam, etc., saying that chronologists assigned a period of 231 years to the Guptas. It has been pointed out that, if this tradition is to be believed, the Gupta empire collapsed 231 years after the start of the Gupta era in 319-20 A.D., that is to say, about 550-51 A.D. Professor Raychaudhuri further says, "The supremacy over Āryāvarta then passed to the houses of Mukhara (circa 554 A.D.) and Pushyabhūti (family of Harsha, 606-47 A.D.) under whom the centre of political gravity shifted from Magadha to Kanauj and that neighbourhood."

In this connection it has to be remembered that there is epigraphic proof in favour of the continuation of Imperial Gupta hold on North Bengal as late as the Gupta year 224 corresponding to 543 A.D. (*Sel. Ins.*, pp. 337 ff.), while there is no evidence in favour of Maukhari occupation of that region. On the other hand, the *Ārya-mañjuśrī-mūlakaḥ* seems to suggest the inclusion of Puṇḍravardhana, headquarters of the Gupta province comprising North Bengal, in the dominions of king Śaśāṅka of Gauḍa in the first quarter of the 7th century. It was therefore very probably the Gauḍas who overthrew Gupta rule from different parts of Bengal. Inscriptions of the independent rulers Dharmāditya, Gopachandra, Samāchāradeva and Jayanāga show that they were ruling over the southern half of Bengal in the sixth century (*ibid.*, pp. 351 ff.; Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 1725, 1729). Of these the *āditya*—ending

name of Dharmāditya may suggest that he was a scion of the Imperial Gupta family. Of the other three, at least Jayanāga is known to have had his capital at Karmasuvārṇa which is known to have been the capital of the Gauḍa kingdom at the beginning of the seventh century. It is thus very probable that the three rulers, viz., Gopachandra, Samāchāradeva and Jayanāga, belonged to the Gauḍa clan and that it was the Gauḍas who ousted Imperial Gupta rule from North Bengal some time after 543 A.D. There is, however, no reason to believe that the Guptas were overthrown from Bihar by the Maukharis and from Bengal by the Gauḍas exactly at the same time, that is, about 550-51 A.D., the date suggested by Jinasena's *Harivamsā*. We have some evidence now to show that the final overthrow of the Imperial Guptas from Bengal and Orissa may have taken place at a later date.

As we have seen, according to the Sumandala inscription, Gupta suzerainty was acknowledged in the Ganjam region of Orissa as late as the Gupta year 250 corresponding to 569 A.D. It is therefore not impossible that the Imperial Guptas succeeded in maintaining their hold on both Bengal and Orissa, however precariously, till 569 A.D. After the loss of Bihar, they may have succeeded in retaining their control over Orissa from some base in Bengal. In this connection, another Jain tradition regarding the duration of Gupta rule appears to throw some welcome light.

The Jain work *Tiloya-paṇṇatti* (*Triloka-prajñapti*) by Jādī-Vasaha (Yati-Vṛishabha) was published sometime ago (cf. *Journ. Or. Inst.*, Vol. III, pp. 296-97). Stanza 1608 of this work has the following tradition regarding the duration of Gupta rule: *tato Guttā tāṇaṃ rajje doṇi sayāni igitisā*, i.e., the Guptas ruled for 231 years. This tradition is the same as that recorded by Jinasena and shows that Gupta rule lasted for 231 years. But there is a different tradition on the same subject recorded elsewhere in the work. In Stanzas 1503-04 we have the following in regard to the rule of the Śakas and the Guptas:

*Jādo ya saga-ṇarimdo rajjaṃ vaṃsassa du-saya-bādālā
doṇi sadā paṇavaṇṇā Guttāṇaṃ.....*

According to this tradition, the Śakas ruled for 242 years and the Guptas for 255 years. There is little doubt that the statement about the Śaka rule lasting for 242 years is based on the fact that

the year 242 of the Śaka era corresponded to year 1 of the era of the Imperial Guptas. But more interesting is the other statement about the rule of the Guptas lasting for 255 years. As the two traditions, viz., the one giving the duration of Gupta rule as 231 years and the other speaking of 255 years in the place of 231, are found in the same work and are not separated by a wide gap, it is permissible to think that the author had in view two altogether different traditions on the same subject. It appears that the first of the two traditions relates to the extirpation of Gupta rule from their home province in Bihar and U.P. and the second refers to the final overthrow of the Guptas from Bengal and Orissa. If such was the case, the first event took place about 551 A.D., and the second about 575 A.D.

We have seen how the evidence of the Maukhari inscriptions may point to the overthrow of the Guptas from Bihar before 554 A.D. That the suzerainty of the Imperial Guptas was ousted from Orissa about 575 A.D., seems also to be supported by epigraphic evidence. The Soro plate of Śambhuyaśas, dated in the Gupta year 260 corresponding to 579 A.D., is the earliest record pointing to the independence of Orissa from the yoke of the Guptas. It is of course not definitely known whether the independent rule of the Gaudas in Bengal also started from 575 A.D. But if it did, as it is not impossible to think in the light of the evidence at our disposal, we have to assign the rule of Gopachandra, Samāchāradeva and Jayanāga about the last quarter of the sixth century.

As already shown above, with the decline of Gupta power in Orissa, the Mānas and Vighrahas were fighting for the supremacy over that country and this struggle of the Orissan powers among themselves gave an opportunity to the Gaudas of Bengal to extend their suzerainty over Orissa during the reign of Śaśāṅka or his immediate predecessor. The conquest of Orissa by the Gaudas may have been inspired by their feeling that they were the political successors of the Imperial Guptas in Eastern India.

III. The Bhauma-Karas

About the beginning of the 20th century more than 50 years ago, two copper-plate charters of the Bhauma-Kara queen Daṇḍimahādevī found in the Ganjam area were published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VI, 1900-01. But the inscriptions were assigned

on palaeographical grounds to the 13th century A.D. and little notice was taken of them. It is only after the publication of the Neulpur plate of king Śubhākara I about two decades later in Vol. XV (1919-20) of the same journal that attention of scholars was drawn to this imperial ruling family of ancient Orissa. R. D. Banerji, who published the record, assigned it on palaeographical grounds to the 8th century A.D. and Sylvian Lèvi suggested the identification of the issuer of the charter with an ancient king of Orissa known from Chinese sources. In 795 A.D. the Chinese emperor Te-tsung is known to have received an autographed manuscript of the Buddhist work entitled *Gaṇḍavyūha* from a king of Wu-cha, i.e., Oḍra of Orissa, in South India, who was a follower of Mahāyāna Buddhism and whose name, translated into Chinese, was 'the fortunate monarch who does what is pure, the lion.' The original form of the name of this 8th century ruler of Orissa was supposed to be *Śrī-Śubhakaradeva-Keśarī* (or *Siṃha*) who was believed to have been none other than the issuer of the Neulpur plate, although the name as found in the inscription is Śubhākara (literally, 'producer, of what is good or pure') and not Śubhakara (literally, 'doer of what is good or pure'). When Banerji wrote his *History of Orissa* about 10 years later, several more inscriptions of the family had been discovered and published, although most of them were unsatisfactorily deciphered and interpreted. Banerji's treatment of the history of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty is therefore not only scrappy but full of errors. He regarded the name of the Bhauma-Kara capital to be Śubheśvarapāṭaka, although it was in reality Guheśvarapāṭaka or Guhadevapāṭaka, probably standing on the site or in the vicinity of modern Jajpur. Banerji also failed to connect the earlier Bhauma-Karas represented by Śubhākara of the Neulpur plate and the later Bhauma-Karas represented by Daṇḍimahādevī of the Ganjam plates and other inscriptions. As regards the chronology of the family, Banerji relied on Lèvi's suggestion and assigned Śubhākara of the Neulpur plate to the close of the 8th century. The Bhauma-Kara records are dated according to the years of an era. Although in many cases the dates were wrongly read, there was no dispute in the reading of the date of one of the two Ganjam plates of Daṇḍimahādevī as the year 180 and of that of the Dhauli inscription of a Bhauma-Kara king named Śāntikara as the year 93. Banerji was inclined to refer these dates to the Gaṅga era which started from

778 A.D. according to some earlier writers followed by him. Thus in his opinion Daṇḍimahādevī ruled in 958 A.D. and Śāntikara in 871 A.D. With the progress of our knowledge in early Orissan history and epigraphy, it is not definitely known that the Bhauma-Karas could not have used the Gaṅga era and that the Gaṅga era started not from 778 A.D. but from a date at least more than two centuries earlier. But Banerji certainly deserves our praise for assigning queen Daṇḍimahādevī to the second half of the 10th century as this dating is much nearer the truth than the suggestion of certain earlier writers ascribing her rule to the 13th century. There is hardly any doubt that the Imperial Bhauma-Kara dynasty of Orissa flourished earlier than the Somavaṁśī king Udyotakesarin, who may now be assigned with some amount of confidence to the second half of the 11th century, and the Gaṅga monarch Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga (1078-1147 A.D.) who conquered the Puri-Cuttack region from the Somavaṁśīs. This is not only suggested by the facts of Orissan history now known or realised but also by the palaeographical indication that, while the Somavaṁśī and Imperial Gaṅga records use numbers according to the decimal system, they are written in the Bhauma-Kara inscriptions by symbols according to an older Indian system.

When Pandit B. Misra published his *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings* (1934) a few years later, some more inscriptions of the family were available to him. The book contains a study of most of the Bhauma-Kara inscriptions known till the time of its publication together with some scrappy notes on certain aspects of the history of the royal family. We have to admit that, even though Misra's treatment of the epigraphic records is not free from errors of reading and interpretation, his work is an improvement upon previous writings on the subject inasmuch as it corrects some of the errors of the earlier writers. But his claim to our praise rests mainly on the fact that he, for the first time, succeeded in placing the genealogy of the family on a sound footing by connecting its earlier and later members. The chronology of the Bhauma-Kara kings suggested by Misra is unfortunately as unconvincing as that previously offered by Banerji. Following D. R. Bhandarkar, Misra referred the dates of the Bhauma-Kara inscriptions to the Harsha era starting from 606 A.D. The Ganjam plate of Daṇḍimahādevī, dated in the year 180, was thus assigned to 786 A.D. There is, however, no doubt that the palaeography of the inscription suggests

a much later date than the later half of the 8th century. Bhandarkar was conscious of the difficulty and that is why the symbol for 100 in the Bhauma-Kara records was read by him in all cases as 200. Misra reads the symbol correctly as 100 and thereby makes the identification of the era used by the Bhauma-Karas with the Harsha era more improbable.

It will be seen that the chronology of the Imperial Bhauma-Kara ruling family of ancient Orissa is still doubtful although a fairly satisfactory genealogical scheme of the rulers has been offered by Misra. But a number of inscriptions of the family, since discovered, have now necessitated certain modifications of and additions to Misra's scheme. We shall first discuss the genealogy of the family as proposed by Misra and then see what new light has been thrown on the subject by recent discoveries.

The Neulpur plate represents the issuer of the charter, Śubhākara I, as the son of Śivakara I and grandson of Kshemañkara. Misra makes Lakshmīkara, mentioned as the progenitor of the family in later records, the father of Kshemañkara. This is, however, unsupported by any evidence. Śubhākara I had two sons named (1) Śivakara II and (2) Śāntikara I alias Gayāḍa I or Lalitahāra (°bhāra) I. According to Misra, this Śāntikara I was followed on the throne successively by his (1) son Śubhākara II alias Simhaketu (°dhvaja) or Kusumahāra (°bhāra) I, (2) queen Tribhuvanamahādevī alias Sindagaurī, and (3) grandson Śāntikara II alias Gayāḍa II or Loṇabhāra- (Lavanabhāra). Śāntikara II had two sons, viz. (1) Śubhākara III alias Kusumahāra II and (2) Śivakara III alias Lalitahāra (°bhāra) II. Śāntikara III, son of king Śivakara III, was followed successively on the throne by his (1) queen Dharmamahādevī and (2) younger brother Śubhākara IV who was himself succeeded first by (1) his queen, probably named Gaurī, and then by (2) his daughter Daṇḍimahādevī.

We have already said that some recently discovered inscriptions have thrown additional light on the subject. The most important among these are: (1) the Tenundia plate of Śubhākara (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 211 ff.), (2) the two Baud plates of Pṛthvīmahādevī (*ibid.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 210 ff.) and (3) the Taltali plate of Dharmamahādevī (*IHQ*, Vol. XXI, pp. 213 ff.). We have to analyse the evidence of these records one by one.

The Terundia plate was issued in the year 100 by king Śubhākara, son of king Śivakara II from the latter's queen Mohinīdevī of the Bhavāna dynasty. According to Misra's genealogy of the family cited above, Śivakara II was succeeded by his younger brother Śāntikara I (for whom we have the Dhauli inscription of the year 93) and the latter by his own son Śubhākara II who was born of the queen Tribhuvanamahādevī, daughter of the Nāga-varṇśī king Rājamalla of the south, and issued his Hindol and Dharakota plates in the year 103. The Terundia plate now informs us that Śāntikara I was not directly succeeded on the throne by his own son named Śubhākara but that his immediate successor was his elder brother's son also named Śubhākara. Thus Śubhākara of the Terundia plate has now to be styled Śubhākara II and the king of the same name, who issued the Hindol and Dharakota plates and whom Misra called Śubhākara II, has now to be designated Śubhākara III. Consequently, the later Śubhākara of the royal line, viz., Misra's Śubhākara III and Śubhākara IV, have to be called now Śubhākara IV and Śubhākara V respectively.

Both the Baud plates record the grant of some land in Daṇḍabhukti-maṇḍala in the year 158 by Prithvīmahādevī alias Tribhuvanamahādevī or Sindagaurī who was the queen of Śubhākara IV (Misra's Śubhākara III) alias Kusumahāra (°bhāra) II whose Talcher plate appears to be dated in the year 145. The queen represents herself as the daughter of king Svabhāvatuṅga of the lunar dynasty of Kosala, i.e., South Kosala. According to Misra's genealogy, Śubhākara III (actually Śubhākara IV) was succeeded by his younger brother Śivakara III who was followed on the throne successively by his two sons, viz. (1) Śāntikara III and (2) Śubhākara IV (actually Śubhākara V). The Baud plates of the queen of Śubhākara IV (Misra's Śubhākara III), however, now inform us that both her husband and the latter's younger brother and successor died without leaving any male issue and that she ascended the Bhauma-Kara throne as a result of this. It is clear therefore that Prithvīmahādevī did not recognise Śāntikara III and his younger brother, both of whom later ascended the Bhauma-Kara throne, as the sons of her husband's younger brother. This may point to a struggle for the throne between Prithvīmahādevī and her husband's cousins. Probably the queen succeeded in occupying the throne with the help received from her own people but was overthrown after a short rule by the partisans of Śāntikara III.

Among other important informations supplied by the Baud plates for the first time are the facts that the Bhauma-Karas had matrimonial relations with the Somavarṃśi kings of South Kosala and that their dominions included the Daṇḍabīukti *maṇḍala* in the western part of the Midnapur District of West Bengal.

The Taltali plate of Dharmamahādevī informs us that she ascended the Bhauma-Kara throne after Vakulamahādevī who had succeeded Daṇḍimādevī. This Vakulamahādevī was born in the Bhañja family and was another queen of Śubhākara V (Misra's Śubhākara IV). Thus this inscription not only introduces a new ruler on the Bhauma-Kara throne in the person of queen Vakulamahādevī but also shows that queen Dharmamahādevī did not rule before Daṇḍimahādevī as Misra seems to have believed.

It may be mentioned in this connection that the history of the Bhauma-Karas of ancient Orissa offers the largest number of ruling queens in a single royal family in the whole range of Indian history. No less than six queens are known to have adorned the Bhauma-Kara throne. They are Tribhuvanamahādevī, Prithvīmahādevī, Gaurīmahādevī, Daṇḍimahādevī, Vakulamahādevī and Dharmamahādevī. Of these Daṇḍimahādevī alone was the daughter of a ruling king, all the others being wives of particular monarchs. When an ancient Indian king died without leaving any male child, usually his widowed queen accepted a boy as an adopted son and this boy was raised to his adopted father's throne. This practice was also sometimes followed by the Bhauma-Karas of Orissa. But the practice of raising a queen to the vacant throne of her dead husband seems to have been more popular with the people they ruled. We do not know the real cause underlying this peculiar phenomenon. But it can be said that the Oriyas of those days had no reason to dislike the rule of women.

Before leaving the question of Bhauma-Kara genealogy we may refer to a controversy that has recently cropped up in regard to the position of queen Tribhuvanamahādevī who issued the Dhenkanal plate. The Hindol and Dharakota plates of Śubhākara III (Misra's Śubhākara II) issued in the year 103 say that the king's mother was Tribhuvanamahādevī of the Nāga family. All the three Talcher plates (dated in the years 145 and 149) of the queen's great-grandsons, viz. (1) Śubhākara IV (Misra's Śubhākara III) and (2) Śivakara III, say that she ascended the throne after the

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death of her son Kusumahāra (°bhāra) or Sinhaketu (°dhvaja), i.e., Śubhākara III (Misra's Śubhākara II). One of these records says that the queen abdicated the throne in favour of her *naptā* (Grandson), Loṇabhāra alias Śāntikara II, when the latter had become sufficiently aged; but the other two grants do not specify the relation between Tribhuvanamahādevī and her successor, Gayāḍa II, i.e. Śāntikara II. The date of the Dhenkanal plate issued, as a ruling queen, by Tribhuvanamahādevī, called Sindagaurī and represented as the daughter of Rājamalla of the southern country and the wife of Lalitahāra (°bhāra), is doubtful. It may be read as 160, although 120 will also not be an improbable reading. The inscription says that the queen ascended the throne at the representation of the feudatories who had requested her to assume the reigns of government as a queen named Gosvāminī was known to them to have done in ancient times. Misra identifies Tribhuvanamahādevī, who issued the Dhenkanal plate, with the queen of that name who was the mother and successor of Śubhākara III (Misra's Śubhākara II) and is known from the records of the years 103, 145 and 149. S. C. De, however, thinks that Tribhuvanamahādevī of the Dhenkanal plate was different from the mother and successor of Śubhākara III (Misra's Śubhākara II) and that she ruled in the year 160 immediately after Prithvīmahādevī of the Baṇ plates of the year 158. But the following considerations appear to support Misra's identification.

In the first place, the fact that the feudatories cited the instance of an ancient ruling queen named Gosvāminī to induce Tribhuvanamahādevī of the Dhenkanal plate to ascend the throne suggests that she was the first ruling queen of the family as the citing of the old instance would be absolutely meaningless if she was immediately preceded by another ruling queen. Secondly, if Tribhuvanamahādevī of the Dhenkanal plate was ruling in 160, she is expected to have participated in the civil war between Prithvīmahādevī and Śāntikara III on the side of either of the two parties. But both the possibilities are rendered improbable by the facts that Prithvīmahādevī is not mentioned in the Dhenkanal plate and that the name of Tribhuvanamahādevī as the immediate predecessor of Śāntikara III is equally conspicuous by its absence in the records of the later members of the family, who were related to that king. Thirdly, the two known facts (1) that Tribhuvanamahādevī, mother of Śubhākara III (Misra's Śubhākara II), was born in the Nāga family, and (2) that Tribhuvanamahādevī alias Sindagaurī

of the Dhenkanal plate was the daughter of Rājamalla of the southern country (South India) appear to suggest that the two were identical, because the name Sindagaurī shows that the queen was born in the Sindha family belonging to Karṇāṭa in South India and claiming Nāga descent. Prithvīmahādevī's assumption of the same name must have been in imitation of this queen as she herself was born in the Somavaṁśa of Kośala and not in the family of the Sindha-Nāgas. I do not understand how this curious fact can be otherwise explained. Fourthly, it has been supposed that the original names of the mother of Śubhākara III (Misra's Śubhākara II) and the wife of Śubhākara IV (Misra's Śubhākara III) were respectively Gosvāminī and Prithvīmahādevī and that they both assumed the name Tribhuvanamahādēvī on the assumption of royal power. But, if the mother of Śubhākara III (Misra's Śubhākara II) assumed the name Tribhuvanamahādevī on her accession to the throne after her son's death, she could not have been mentioned by that name in her son's records as she really is. Again, if Tribhuvanamahādevī of the Dhenkanal plate was the third Bhauma-Kara ruling queen of that name, she should have felt the necessity of distinguishing herself to avoid a confusion between herself and any of her two past namesakes especially in view of the fact that one of the two other Tribhuvanamahādevīs (i.e. Prithvīmahādevī alias Tribhuvanamahādevī) is supposed to have ruled immediately before her.

We know now of at least 18 ruling kings and queens of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty. They are:

1. *Paramopāsaka Mahārāja* Kshemaṅkara, possibly also called Lakshmīkara, although the latter may have been an earlier king of the family as well. No inscription of Kshemaṅkara or Lakshmīkara has so far been discovered.

2. *Paramatāthāgata Mahārāja* Śivakara I alias Unmaṭṭasiṁha or Bharasaha, son of No. 1. He married Jayāvalī, daughter of a king of Rāḍha in south-west Bengal. A copper-plate inscription (IHQ, Vol. XII, pp. 492-93) from Ganjam suggests that he had his headquarters at Virajas (Jajpur) and conquered parts of Koṅgoda-maṇḍala with the help of his feudatory, Rāṇaka Vishavārṇava, who confirmed an earlier charter of Gaṅga Jayavarman of Śvetaka originally issued possibly in the Gaṅga year 120 falling in the period 616-18 A.D.,

3. *Paramasaugata Mahārāja* (or *Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Paramabhṭṭāraka*=P.M.P.) Śubhākara I, son of No. 2. He married Mādhavadevī who is known to have built a temple of Śiva in the Sivadāsapur area of Jajpur (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 179 ff.). The date of his Neulpur plate appears to be doubtful.

4. *Paramasaugata P.M.P.* Śivakara II, son of No. 3. He married Mohinīdevī of the Bhavāna lineage. The reading of the date of his Chaurasi plate (*JBORS*, Vol. XIV, pp. 292 ff.) seems to be doubtful.

5. Śāntikara I alias Gayāḍa I or Lalitahāra (°bhāra) I, younger brother of No. 4. He married Tribhuvanamahādevī (No. 8) of the Nāga lineage. His Dhauli inscription (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. XIX, p. 263) is dated in the year 93.

6. *Paramasaugata P.M.P.* Śubhākara II, son of No. 4. His Terundia plate, issued in the year 100, mentions his queen Nṛṣṇādevī.

7. *Paramasaugata P.M.P.* Śubhākara III alias Simhaketu (°dhvaja) or Kusumahāra (°bhāra) I, son of Nos. 5 and 7. Both his Hindol and Dharakota plates (*Misra, op. cit.*, pp. 12-22) were issued in the year 103.

8. *Paramavaishṇavī P.M.P.* Tribhuvanamahādevī I alias Sindagaurī, mother of No. 7 and daughter of Rājamalla of the southern country. In her Dhenkanal plate, the date of which is possibly to be read as the year 120, she says that, on the death of her son, the feudatories requested her to ascend the throne by citing the instance of an ancient queen named Gosvāminī. Her name Sindagaurī (i.e. Gaurī of the Sindas) suggests that she was born in the family of the Sindas who originally belonged to the Kaṇṇāṭa country and claimed Nāga origin. Unlike her predecessors on the Bhauma-Kara throne who were Buddhists, she was a devotee of the god Viṣṇu.

9. Śāntikara II alias Gayāḍa II or Loṇabhara (Lavaṇa) I, apparently an adopted son of No. 7. He married Hīrāmahādevī daughter of king Simhamāna possibly of the Mānbhūm region. None of his inscriptions has so far been discovered.

10. *Paramamāheśvara P.M.P.* Śubhākara IV alias Kusumahāra (°bhāra) II, son of No. 9. He married Pṛithvīmahādevī

(No. 12) of the Somavarṃśa of South Kosala. The date of his Talcher plate (Misra, *op. cit.* pp. 32 ff.) appears to be the year 145. Unlike the earlier members of the family, he was a Śaiva.

11. *Paramamāheśvara P.M.P.* Śivakara III alias Lalitahāra (°bhāra) II, younger brother of No. 10. His Talcher plates (*ibid.*, pp. 40 ff.) were issued in the year 149. One of his subordinates was Vinītatuṅga of the Tuṅga dynasty of Yamagarttā-maṇḍala, a feudatory family that is known from several inscriptions (cf. Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 1745-47). He was a Śaiva.

12. *Paramavaishṇavī P.M.P.* Prithvīmahādevī alias Tribhuvanamahādevī II or Sindagaurī II, wife of No. 10 and daughter of king Svabhāvatuṅga of the lunar dynasty of Kosala (South Kosala). She assumed the name *Tribhuvanamahādevī* and *Sindagaurī* (although she was not born in the Sinda family) and called herself 'a devout worshipper of Viṣṇu' in imitation of No. 8. Her Baud plates, recording grants of land in Daṇḍabhukti-maṇḍala, were issued in the year 158. She says that her accession to the throne was due to the death of her husband and the latter's younger brother (i.e. Nos. 10-11) without leaving any male issue apparently indicating that she did not recognise Nos. 13-14 as the sons of No. 11.

13. Śantikara III alias Lavaṇabhāra II, son of No. 11. He married Dharmamahādevī (No. 18). None of his records has yet come to light.

14. Śubhākara V, younger brother of No. 13. He married Gaurimahādevī and Vakulamahādevī (Nos. 15 and 17). None of his inscriptions has so far been discovered.

15. Gaurimahādevī, wife of No. 14. No inscription of her time is known.

16. *Paramamāheśvarī P.M.P.* Daṇḍimahādevī, daughter of Nos. 14-15. Several of her copper-plate grants have been discovered. Some of these are dated in the years 180 and 187. The date of her Santirigrama grant (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 79 ff.) is given as the year 280 which is undoubtedly a mistake for 180. The fact is that *lu* and *lū* were respectively the symbols for 100 and 200 and, in the palaeography of Orissan records, the medial forms of *u* and *ū* were often confused with each other. Queen Daṇḍimahādevī was a Śaiva.

17. Vakulamahādevī, wife of No. 14 and daughter of a Bhañja king. None of her inscriptions has as yet come to light.

18. *Paramamāheśvarī* P.M.P. Dharmamahādevī, wife of No. 13. There is no date in either of her two copper-plate grants so far discovered. She was a Śaiva.

The above analysis will show that the eighteen rulers of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty ruled for about two centuries. It appears that the beginning of the era used in the records of the family coincided with the first regnal year of its first king and that the latest known ruler ended her reign not long after the year 200 of the era in question. The feudatory families that used the same era must have originally owed complete allegiance to the Bhauma-Karas, but gradually became semi-independent with the growth of their power. In this connection we may refer especially to the following inscriptions: (1) the Dhenkanal plate of Jayasimha, the date of which may be the year 128 although it was wrongly read (cf. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, No. 1756); (2) Jamdapir plate (*ibid.*, No. 1487) of Ranabhañja of Khijjiṅga-kotṭa; the date of this record is given as the year 288 which seems to be a mistake for 188 as in the Santirigrama grant of Daṇḍimahādevī; (3) the Adipur plate (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, p. 157) of Narendrabhañja and Raṇabhañja of Khijjiṅga-kotṭa, dated in the year 293 which seems similarly to be a mistake for 193; (4) the Talmul plate of Dhruvānanda (Bhandarkar's List, No. 2043) dated in the year 293 which is undoubtedly a mistake for 193 as is now clearly demonstrated by the Daspala plate of his immediate predecessor Devānanda II, dated in the year 184 (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 183 ff.), etc. Unfortunately there was so long no clue to determine with precision the date of either any of the Bhauma-Kara rulers themselves or of their feudatories.

As already indicated above, the Imperial Gaṅga monarch Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga conquered the Puri-Cuttack region about the beginning of the 12th century and it is impossible to place the Imperial Bhauma-Karas in the same area after that date, as the successors of Choḍagaṅga are known to have been holding sway over that tract for several centuries. It is again certain now that Choḍagaṅga conquered the Puri-Cuttack area not from the Bhauma-Karas but from the Somavarṁśis and this fact proves that the Bhauma-Karas must have flourished before the occupation of

lower Orissa by the Somavamśis of South Kosala about the second quarter of the 11th century. Beyond this there was so far no evidence to determine the chronology of the Bhauma-Karas. Fortunately some inscriptions, recently discovered or re-studied, have thrown welcome light on the problem.

Sometime ago we had occasion to discuss the genealogy and chronology of the Bhañjas who originally ruled from Dhṛitipura in Upper Orissa and later on from Vañjulvaka in the Ganjam region (*IHQ*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 225 ff.). Although these Bhañjas generally used their regnal reckoning in dating their charters, the use of the Bhauma-Kara era is also noticed in one of their recently discovered records. This fact seems to suggest that they were originally feudatories of the Bhauma-Kara monarchs. The date of king Raṇabhañja of Dhṛitipura has been determined with some amount of precision. His father-in-law was the Kadamba chief Niyārṇava or Niyārṇama who was the grand-father of Dharma-kheḍi, known from his two records, viz. the Mandasa and Santa-Bommali plates dated respectively in the Śaka year 917 (995 A.D.) and the Gaṅga year 520 (1016-18 A.D.). Raṇabhañja and his father-in-law thus appear to have flourished about the middle or third quarter of the 10th century A.D. It should also be noticed that Gandhaṭapāṭi (modern Gadharāḍhī in the former Baudh State), apparently founded by and named after Raṇabhañja's father Śatrubhañja I Gandhaṭa, was the headquarters of Gandhaṭapāṭi-maṇḍala, in which a village granted by the Somavamśi king Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I (circa 970-1000 A.D.) was situated (cf. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XI, p. 96). Another inscription (*ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 353) of the same Somavamśi monarch records the grant in favour of an inhabitant of Śilābhañjapāṭi probably named after Raṇabhañja's grandfather Śilābhañja I Āṅgaddi. It has also to be noticed that, while these Bhañjas had their capital at Dhṛitipura down to the time of Raṇabhañja, the charters of Raṇabhañja's son Netṭabhañja Kalyāṇakalaśa I and his successors were issued from Vañjulvaka.

The above facts appear to show that the father and grand-father of Raṇabhañja flourished earlier than Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I, that Raṇabhañja ruled earlier than or was an older contemporary of the Somavamśi monarch and that it was the Somavamśi king Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I who conquered the Dhṛitipura region and drove the successors of Raṇabhañja from that area to

Vañjulvaka. These are very valuable facts for the determination of the chronology of both the Bhañjas of Dhṛitipura and Vañjulvaka and the Somavañśis of Kosala.

In this connection it has also been shown that the successors of Raṇabhañja, viz. his sons Neṭṭabhañja Kalyānakalaśa I and Digbhañja, and Digbhañja's son Śilābhañja II and grandson Vidyā-dharabhañja, had all very short reigns. This is indicated by the fact that a Brāhmaṇa named *Bhaṭṭa* Stambhadeva served all the four kings while a goldsmith named Durgadeva served not only all of them but also Neṭṭabhañja Kalyānakalaśa II, son of Vidyādhara-bhañja. Considering the fact that the active period of the lives of Stambhadeva and Durgadeva covered about half a century, Neṭṭabhañja II may be assigned to sometime about the first quarter of the 11th century.

The recently discovered Daspalla plates (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 189 ff.) of Śatrubhañja, who was the great-grandson or grandson of Vidyādhara-bhañja, is dated in the year 198 apparently of the Bhauma-Kara era. This record has to be assigned to a date earlier than the middle of the 11th century. The date shows that the charter was issued about the latest years of Bhauma-Kara rule while we have evidence to show that the Bhauma-Kara dominions passed to the Somavañśis of Kosala during the time of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti III Chaṇḍihara (circa 1025-60 A.D.), father of Uddyotakesarin (circa 1060-80 A.D.), about the second quarter of the same century (*IHQ*, Vol. XXII, pp. 300 ff.). Thus the year 198 of the Bhauma-Kara era, when Śatrubhañja's Daspalla plates were issued, has to be referred roughly to the second quarter of the 11th century. It has also to be remembered that, although the number 198 is indicated in Śatrubhañja's inscription in figures of the decimal notation, certain dates in the ninth and tenth decades of the 2nd century of the Bhauma-Kara era are written according to the older system by symbols. This old system is not used in the records of the Somavañśis and did not survive long after the end of the tenth century A.D. It was used in some of the records of the Gaṅgas considerably before the time of Vajra-hasta III who was crowned in 1038 A.D.

The above conclusion regarding the commencement of the Bhauma-Kara era, which may now be the basis of the chronology of the said ruling family of ancient Orissa, is supported by another

piece of evidence that has recently come to light. We have referred above to the Baud plates of Prithvīmahādevī alias Tribhuvanamahādevī II, dated in the year 158. As already indicated, these records represent the said queen as the daughter of king Svabhāvatuṅga of the lunar dynasty of Kosala (South Kosala). The identity of this Svabhāvatuṅga is suggested by the Bolangir Museum plates of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I (c. 970-1000 A.D.). The inscription was indifferently edited 50 years ago in *JPASB*, 1905, pp. 14-16, but has been recently re-edited in *JASL*, Vol. XIX, pp. 117 ff.

The most interesting part of the charter is a section containing four stanzas engraved at the end of the document proper. This is exactly of the nature of the concluding portion of the Mahada plates (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 283 ff.) of king Someśvaradeva-varman III of South Kosala and offers certain additional details regarding the donor and his family. The second of the four verses says that there was a king of the lunar dynasty (Soma-kula) named Svabhāvatuṅga, who ruled Kosalā (capital of the Kosala or South Kosala country) and subdued the Chaidyas or Chedis, i.e. the Kalachuris. The text of the third stanza is extremely corrupt; but it seems to say that the Chedi king's lieutenants, headed by *Bhaṭṭa* Peḍi, led an expedition against the Somavaṁśi kingdom and carried away a number of women, but that king Svabhāvatuṅga, aided by a general named Lakshmaṇa, pursued the invaders into the Chedi territory, killed *Bhaṭṭa* Peḍi and rescued the women. The fourth verse says that the son of the above Svabhāvatuṅga resembled Vishṇu and that this prince, caring little for the Chaidya, i.e., the Chedi or Kalachuri king, named Durgarāja, burnt Dahālā (i.e. the Chedi country in the Jubhulpur region). The fact that the only Somavaṁśi king mentioned in this supplementary section of the inscription is Svabhāvatuṅga seems to suggest that he is no other than Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I, issuer of the charter. His father Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya alias Dharmakandarpa is known to have enjoyed no less than three names, the son; Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I alias Svabhāvatuṅga, also appears to have enjoyed the same number of names. Thus Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I Svabhāvatuṅga seems to have been the father of the Bhauma-Kara queen Prithvīmahādevī who issued her charters in the year 158 of the Bhauma-Kara era. As the reign-period of the daughter could not have been far removed from that of the father, the year 158 of the Bhauma-Kara era can be assigned roughly to the last quarter

of the 10th century. The era therefore started in the first half of the ninth century. But there is another point to be considered and that would suggest a narrower limit.

We have seen that Prithvīmahādevī disregarded the claim of the rightful heirs of her husband's younger brother to the Bhauma-Kara throne and may have succeeded in occupying it temporarily with the help she possibly received from her own people. It is only natural to expect that, in the struggle with the partisans of Śāntikara III, Prithvīmahādevī received considerable help from her father Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I Svabhāvatunga. The fact that Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I seems to have occupied the Dhṛitipura region and pushed the Bhañjas, who were feudatories of the Bhauma-Karas, from that area to Vañjulvaka lends some colour to the suggestion. Another fact to be considered in this connection is that, while the early Somavamśīs were rulers of Kosala, Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I is the only early Somavamśī monarch to have granted a village in the Tosali country which was comprised in the dominions of the Bhauma-Karas. One of his inscriptions (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 351 ff.) is known to record the grant of a village called Chandagrāma in the *vishaya* or district called Maraḍa in Dakṣiṇa-Tosali (i.e. the Ganjam-Puri-Cuttack region) made in the 9th year of his reign. The village has been identified with modern Chandgan about 32 miles from Cuttack and the headquarters of Maraḍavishaya have been located at Marada-Hariharpur in the Cuttack District (Misra, *Dyn. Med. Or.*, pp. 66 ff.). We are inclined to believe that the grant of a village in the Tosali country within the dominions of the Bhauma-Karas by the king of Kosala was not unconnected with his daughter's accession to the Bhauma-Kara throne. It seems that the grant was made about the time when the Kosalan forces defeated the Bhauma-Kara antagonists of Prithvīmahādevī and raised her to the throne of Tosali. If such was the case, the 9th regnal year of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I may not have been far removed from the year 158 of the Bhauma-Kara era, when his daughter issued her Baud plates, especially in view of the fact that the queen is likely to have been ousted from the throne by Śāntikara III after a short rule. As the 9th year of the reign of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I may be regarded as roughly corresponding to a date in the fourth quarter of the tenth century, the Bhauma-Kara era appears to have started about the middle of the first half of the ninth century.

We have seen how the Daspalla plates of Śatrubhañja bears a date in the year 198 of the era used by the Bhauma-Karas and how the rule of that king has to be assigned approximately to the second quarter of the 11th century. It has also been pointed out that, if the year 198 of the Bhauma-Kara era fell somewhere about the second quarter of the 11th century, the era must have started in the first half of the 9th century. Now the Dasapalla plates offer certain verifiable astronomical details of the date on which the charter was issued. These are: Year 198, Vishuvasaṅkrānti, Sunday, Pañchamī and Mrigaśiro-nakshetra. Since this combination is rather rare and suits very few dates in a century, the said inscription may be regarded as having offered the most valuable clue in determining the initial year of the Bhauma-Kara era as we now know the approximate period when its epoch fell. According to Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris* (Vol. III, p. 60), the details of the date of Śatrubhañja's Daspalla plates suit only the 23rd March 1029 A.D. among all the days in the first half of the 11th century. The era in question therefore seems to have started from 831 A.D.

We shall conclude with a reference to the Mahāyāna Buddhist Subhakaradevakesarī or °śimha who is believed on the authority of Chinese evidence to have been ruling over Orissa in 795 A.D. It is interesting to remember in this connection another early Ōriya ruler named Subhakarasiṃha who was the son of a king of Orissa and had himself reigned for several years before he abdicated the throne in favour of his younger brother (cf. A. Getty, *Gaṇeśa*, pp. 73-74). He lived in the period 637-735 A.D. and arrived in China in 716 A.D. with a large number of Tantric texts of the Yogāchāra school, many of which (including the *Mahāvairochana-sūtra*) he translated into Chinese in spite of his advanced age of eighty. If the date 795 A.D. assigned by Lévi to Śubhakarakesari or Śubhakarasiṃha of the *Gaṇḍavyūha* fame be correct, he cannot of course be identified with his namesake who visited China in 716 A.D. But in any case the two kings of identical name seem to have belonged to the same royal family of ancient Orissa, which was certainly different from the Bhauma-Kara dynasty that began to rule about 831 A.D.

(To be continued in the next issue)

Prerogative to Chitradurga Territory during 1779-1800

BY

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In February 1779, Hyder Ali seized the fort of Chitradurga and placed it under the control of Sheikh Ayaz (Hayat Saheb) as the conquered Bedara ruler Medekere Barmanna Nayaka and his brother Parashuramappa, both wounded during the siege, died in captivity at Seringapatam. Hyder then kept the rest of this Bedara family in confinement for "another year".¹ But the right to the Chitradurga principality was soon revived by a collateral kinsman named Dodda Medekere Nayaka. In the Indian National Archives, New Delhi, are a few unpublished documents which show how his claims were eventually settled.

Career under the Mysore Sultanate

Among the Chitradurga prisoners at Seringapatam was Dodda Medekere Nayaka, a member of the "lateral Branch of the house".² He was the nephew of Kasturi Rangappa Nayaka.³ It was his cousin Barmanna whom Hyder had subverted in 1779.⁴ Dodda Medekere Nayaka had also been wounded on this occasion. But the existing family dissensions soon prompted Hyder to win him over. Submitting "to the terms of the Conqueror",⁵ this Dodda Medekere Nayaka "reconciled himself to Hyder's Government"⁶ and thus obtained his freedom.

1. Political Consultation, 26 June, 1800 (138)—J. Spencer to J. Webbe: 12 February 1800—"The Deposition of Medakery Nayakan of Chitrakala Door-gan or Chittledroog."

2. Pol. Cons. 26 June, 1800 (140)—R. Close to Lord Clive: 21 Mar. 1800.

3. *Progs. of the Indian Historical Records Commission*, XVIII, p. 310.

4. Pol. Cons. 26 June, 1800 (138). The exact relation is stated to be his "father's elder brother's son."

5. Pol. Cons. 26 June, 1800 (139)—J. Webbe to J. Spencer: 11 March, 1800.

6. Pol. Cons. 26 June 1800 (140).

In April 1779 when Hyder and Tipu arrived near Cuddapah and dispatched troops to reduce Sidhout, Hyder wrote to the "Zamindar" of Chitradurga ordering him to join with his troops or else suffer the confiscation of territory.⁷ Left without any alternative, the "Raja" of Chitradurga started for Sidhout on 13th April, 1779.⁸ As at this time, the Chitradurga ruling family was dispossessed and confined at Seringapatam, and there was none powerful enough to defy Hyder, it is possible that this "Zamindar" or "Raja" of Chitradurga is identical with Dodda Medekere Nayaka, whom Hyder had just released.

In the beginning Dodda Medekere Nayaka was commissioned in Hyder's army on a monthly pay of Rs. 100/-. But this was soon raised to Rs. 300 when he was appointed *Bakshi* in Charge of 5 to 6,000 men during the Arcot campaign. He fought against Colonel Baillie, and also at Trichinopoly, Cuddapah and Vellore. Pleased with this Hyder bestowed gifts on him and his troops, enhancing his pay to Rs. 500/-.

During the disturbances in Malabar, when the general, Sardar Khan died at Tellichery, Hyder rushed to Calicut, 4,000 cavalry commanded by Muqudin Saheb, 12,000 infantry under *Bakshi* Ghulam Ali and 14,000 troops under the joint command of Dodda Medekere Nayaka and *Bakshi* Hyder. From Calicut this army marched to Tiruvananthapuram, where the British opposed its progress. Muqudin fell in the fight, but *Bakshi* Hyder and the Medekere Nayaka, though wounded, retreated to Venkalikota and then to Palghat, from where they applied for succour. Tipu, hurried to their aid with 30,000 Carnatics, 20,000 infantry and 15,000 cavalry. At this the British left Tartalla and entrenched at Ponnani. Tipu followed up. But meeting with British gunfire, his troops dispersed. Dodda Medekere Nayaka stayed back with 500 men and covered Tipu's retreat. Two British advance units attacked him. But routing them, he decapitated 16 men and captured 6, offering them to Tipu. Applauding, Tipu embraced the Medekere Nayaka, "promised to reinstate him", paid Rs. 20/-

7. *Calendar of Persian Correspondence* V 1484 (3)—Raja of Kalahasti to Vakil Kishan Rao: 14 April, 1779; *ibid.*, V, 1484 (4)—Raja Kumara Venkata Nayar to the Nawab of Arcot; 17 Apr. 1779.

8. *Ibid.*, V, 1484 (5)—Raja of Chitradurga to the Raja of Kalahasti: 19 Apr. 1779.

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for the trophies and Rs. 25/- per head he brought. This expedition was called off when Hyder died and Tipu hastened to Seringapatam, despatching Aishad Beg Khan and the Medekere Nayaka to Calicut.

In the second expedition to Calicut, during 1788, Tipu made many converts. From Calicut, he sent Bakshi Muhammad to relieve the Medekere Nayaka, whom he forthwith recalled. Tipu's messenger confided to him at Kamlapur that the real object of his recall was to be converted to Islam. Tipu had long cherished to seduce him through some followers. The Medekere Nayaka therefore avoided Tipu's camp and instead announced his intention of proceeding with his seraglio to Cochin. Tipu thereupon confiscated his possessions.

Patronage of the Travancore Court

Dodda Medekere Nayaka however arrived at the Gate of Bagamatikota and appealed for help to the Dewan of Travancore. At this the latter promptly dispatched Lakshmanan Salayan, with 4 *Harkaras*, to welcome him. He was then taken to the ruler Kiritapati Ramaraja, who took him under his protection, appointed him to a command of 200 (later reduced to 175) men, and offered, among other things, a monthly pay of Rs. 300/- and a subsistence daily allowance of $24\frac{1}{2}$ measures of rice. His residence in the Travancore Court extended from 1791 to 1799.⁹ Adverting to this later, in February 1800 the Raja wrote to Lord Clive the following: "In consideration of the rank of his family, I have, for these ten years treated him with every respect and kindness and supplied all his wants."¹⁰

A mission to Madras

Dodda Medekere Nayaka attended in October 1799 a reception at Palingote, given by Kiritapati Rama Raja in honour of Brigade Major Bannerman. When introduced by the Raja, the Major observed that, since Seringapatam had fallen, the East India Company might reinstate the dispossessed rulers. To this the Medekere Nayaka stated that he would not depart from

9. Pol. Cons. 26 June, 1800 (138).

10. Pol. Cons. 26 June, 1800 (135)—Raja of Travancore to Lord Clive: received 24 Feb. 1800.

Travancore for this purpose without the Raja's consent. Major Bannerman then spoke about him to the Raja, who approved the proposal and requested Bannerman to extend his help. Medekere Nayaka subsequently left Travancore on Bannerman's advice and the Raja presented him with a T.A. of Rs. 1000/- a horse, a tent, a pair of snawls and separate recommendatory letters to Lord Clive, Bannerman and *Vakil* Vishvanath Ram.¹¹ The Raja agreed to disburse his salary to his family at Travancore.

Avoiding the insecure southern route, Dodda Medekere Nayaka reached Calicut by sea on 11th February, 1800 and requested Colonel Papier, then stationed there with the Travancore Raja's Corps, to furnish him with a small escort to Tellichery for his arms. Col. Papier applied for this to the Officer Commanding and on the next day, 12th February, waited on Mr. J. Spencer, President of the Malabar Commission, to acquaint him with the Nayaka's arrival.¹² Medekere Nayaka had also announced that his sole object in visiting Madras was to "reinstate himself in the Authority of his forefathers" with British aid.¹³ In his despatch of 21st March, 1800 Colonel R. Close, the Resident at Mysore, agreed that the "Narrative delivered in by Mudghery Naique, appears in greater part to be founded."¹⁴ But since he arrived by sea and possessed no passport to travel through Malabar, he was debarred from entering the Chitradurga territory without the special permission of the Resident at Mysore.¹⁵ Mr. Spencer thereupon detained him forwarding his letters, with all particulars, to the Government of Fort St. George for necessary orders.¹⁶ The Raja of Travancore was also apprized of the Nayaka's detention. The petitioner was then asked to await the replies from Mysore and Madras.¹⁷ The above proceedings were reported by the Governor-in-Council to the Supreme Government at Fort William.¹⁸

11. Pol. Cons. 26 June 1800 (138); *ibid.*, 26 June 1800 (135-137). The letter to the Vakil was from Subbayya.

12. Pol. Cons. 26 June, 1800 (138).

13. Pol. Cons. 26 June, 1800 (135 and 138).

14. Pol. Cons. 26 June, 1800 (140).

15. Pol. Cons. 26 June, 1800 (138).

16. Pol. Cons. 26 June, 1800 (133)—J. Spencer to Lord Clive: 12 February 1800.

17. Pol. Cons. 26 June, 1800 (138).

18. Pol. Cons. 26 June, 1800 (132)—J. Webbe to G. H. Barlowe; 29 Mar. 1800.

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Meanwhile the Governor-in-Council already decided to reject wholly the claims of Medekere Nayaka to the principality of Chitradurga. It was contended first, that he had no legal right to the territory, as his cousin was subverted by Hyder long before the British conquest of Mysore. Secondly, though he had submitted to the terms of Hyder and entered his service, yet later he fled to the Travancore Court and thereby "incurred by immigrating from Mysore without the consent of his sovereign (Tippoo) the penalties of forfeiture and outlawry. It is evident therefore that at the time of the conquest, Mudghery Naik possessed no territorial rights under the late Tippoo Sultan; and consequently the allies succeeding to the rights of that Prince, were free from the encumbrances of the Polygar's pretensions."¹⁹ Thirdly, in establishing the existing Government at Mysore, the rights of His Highness Raja Krishna Wodeyar had not been recognised. But the measure of establishing a separate Government in Mysore having been deemed necessary and expedient by the contracting parties, His Highness was selected and placed at the head of Government by the allies. Judged by this principle, the Governor-in-Council, appeared reluctant to encourage the "impolicy of reviving any obsolete pretensions to independent jurisdiction."²⁰ And lastly, Medekere Nayaka's influence in mustering the war-like Bedars of Chitradurga and Harpanhalli would have created "extreme embarrassment" to the Mysore Government. The Governor-in-Council therefore decided that the Resident in Mysore should prevent the Medekere Nayaka from entering the Mysore Country and instructed Mr. Spencer to detain him within the British territory.²¹ The *Kaifyat* of his son Jhampanna Nayaka however says that Dodda Medekere Nayaka went and interviewed 'Lal Sahab' at Madras for his reinstatement. The latter directed him to Dewan Purnayya at Mysore, who gave him a hereditary pension.²²

19. Pol. Cons. 26 June, 1800, (139-140).

20. Pol. Cons. 26 June, 1800 (139).

21. Pol. Cons. 26 June, 1800 (140).

22. Progs. of the I.H.R.C. XVIII, p. 311. It is mentioned in the Nayaka's own *Kaifyat* that when Hyder released him from captivity at Seringapatam and offered an appointment *Bakshi* Krishna Rao and Purnayya induced him to accept it in view of the prospect of "gaining a speedy death in the front of the battle." Pol. Cons. 26 June, 1800 (138).

Sea-dangers in Early Indian Seafaring

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A preliminary attempt is made in this paper to study the problem of sea-dangers with particular reference to the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal and how the early Indian seafarers solved them.

Ancient Indian literature is replete with descriptions and references to sea-dangers which beset early seafarers.² Sea-dangers might be taken as a serious cause which would have discouraged ancient seafaring. Such possibility cannot be ruled out. But cannot the interference be the other way round as well? Quite reasonably the innumerable references to sea-perils and their realistic descriptions are to be considered as sure indices confirming the awful experiences of the seafarers on the high seas in consequence of their deep-sea voyaging. The large number of references to sea-dangers suggests only very likely the frequency of their voyages on the high seas.

Common and Possible dangers:

The potential sea-dangers which usually beset seafarers can be grouped into two classes. The first kind of perils are caused

1. The writer is thankful to his teacher Dr. L. B. Keny for the guidance and encouragement received for the present study.

2. Cf. e.g., *Rig-Veda*, I, 116.3.

Relevant seafaring allusions in the *Mahābhārata*: Droṇa Parva and Karna Parva.

Varāha and Markandeya Purāṇas.

Jātakas: Valahāssa, Supparaka, Mahājanaka, Saṅkha, Sussondi.

The Jātaka, I-VI, Cambridge, 1895-1907.

Somadeva's *Kathāsarit Sāgara*: Stories of Saktideva, Samudrasura etc.

by the physical forces of nature. They are (i) storms, (ii) wave force, (iii) ocean currents, (iv) calms, (v) fogs, (vi) ice, and (vii) darkness. The second kind of perils include the dangers presented by (i) sea-creatures, (ii) pirates, and (iii) reefs and rocks.

So far as the first kind of dangers is concerned, all of them cannot be present in the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal. Both the seas being tropical in climate, the danger resulting from ice or icebergs is ruled out. Even though the influence of ocean currents is more climatic than navigational, there are no well-defined 'streams' in the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal. No doubt storms are potential dangers causing shipwrecks and are present in both the seas of which the Bay of Bengal is noted for its dreadful revolving cyclones, the implacable foe of every sailing ship. The presence of such fierce cyclones in the Bay of Bengal might be looked upon as one of the causes for the late colonisation of *Suvarṇadvīpas* by ancient Indians in contrast to the very early contacts established with the countries of the Western Asia: the earliest of the archaeological remains pertaining to the Indian contacts in Indonesia have been only dated to belong to the closing decades prior to the beginning of the Christian era, when alone probably ships of advanced types could have been built by ancient Indians strong enough to face the severest of the cyclones of the Bay of Bengal. These cyclones, the force of which directly affects the Coromandel coast of India, might have been one of the destructive agents of the early trading posts like Podouké or Arikamedu.

Storms and Shipwrecks :

For seafarers the result of storms is often shipwreck which is vividly described in ancient Indian literature particularly in the *Jātakas*.³ It is curious to note how the early seafarers faced the situation. When disaster was imminent they ate sugar and ghee as much as they could digest and covered their bodies and garments with oil⁴—both precautions were sound psychologically and indicative of a long period of trial and error.⁵ While obviously the sugar and ghee would have been to keep off hunger (which pro-

3. Cf. The *Saṅkha-Jātaka*; the *Mahājanaka-Jātaka*, *op. cit.*

4. *Ibid.* Sugar could mean only anything very sweet.

5. A. L. Basham, *Notes on Seafaring in Ancient India, Art and Letters*, London, XXIII, 1949, p. 61.

perty of sweetmeats combined with ghee is too practical to be explained), the oil might have been profusely used to smoothen the surface of the water they touched on thus presenting less resistance to the wind and preventing breaking of the waves—the real dangers in wave motion.⁶ Very likely only some kind of vegetable or animal oil could have been used by them and such oils being very heavy and thick, would have been found to be most effective for the purpose. The effect of oil on free waves, i.e., waves in deep water is greatest.⁷ The above reference implies that the seafarers would have generally equipped themselves with enough oil and sugar as part of their safety aids. As they seemed to have known the effect of oil to smoothen the sea-surface, probably they would have also hung oil bags on the sides of the ship according to the moving direction of the ship and winds and in case of necessity the bags could have been pricked letting oil to sprinkle on the waves along the way thus rendering the sea alongside comparatively smooth.⁸

6. The use of oil for modifying the effect of breaking waves is an accepted and common practice even among the modern navigators. For detailed account of the use and effect of oil on waves cf. *The West Coast of India Pilot* (7th Edn.) 1926, published for the Hydrographic Department, Admiralty, by His Majesty's Stationary Office, London, pp. xxvi-xxvii.

7. *Ibid.*, p. xxvi. Incidentally it may also be mentioned that the mudbanks found off the Malabar coast in front of Calicut, Cochin and Alleppey, are supposed to contain a sort of oil the smoothening effect of which on the waters ensures quite safe anchorage in the open roadsteads of the above ports in the severest of monsoons. Cf. *Kaybee's Indian Shipping Annual*, Port Number, 1951, (edited by K. B. Vaidya), p. 87.

8. It will be of interest to notice in this connection the advice issued for modern seafarers regarding the use of oil bags:

"...simple and easy way to distribute oil is by means of canvas bags about one foot long, filled with oakum and oil, pierced with holes by means of a coarse sail-needle, and held by a lanyard. Running before a gale, use oil from bags at the cat-heads or from forward waste-pipes; if yawing badly and threatening to broach to, use oil forward and abaft the beam, on both sides. Lying to, distribute oil from the weather-bow. With a high beam sea, use oil through forward closet-pipes. There are many other cases where oil may be used to advantage, such as lowering and hoisting boats, riding to a sea-anchor, crossing rollers and surf on a bar and from life-boats and stranded vessels."—Lieut. H. S. Brown in his *Handbook to Ports between Calcutta and Bombay*, quoted in *Kaybee's Indian Shipping Annual*, op. cit.

Instead of canvas bags, the early seafarers would have used probably bags made of animal skin or leather.

Apart from the above, oil is a well-known protective agent against water because of its non-miscibility and it is common knowledge that an immersed person having been fully smeared with oil is less open to cold or water-sickness than a person unprotected by it.

Other Perils :

Ships for crossing the seas would have been well-built and strong the timbers being sewn or lashed together. It is reasonable to assume the prevalence of sewn-ships earlier than the nailed-ships and in practice even later on the sewn-ships were found safer for use because of their quality of resilience when scraped on a reef or rock than the nailed-ships which would break under such conditions.⁹

Besides very likely knowing by experience the seasonal and periodical nature of the storms, the voyages would have been timed so as to cross the sea only with fair weather and favourable winds.¹⁰

Tossing and rolling of ship due to heavy winds would have been balanced and stability secured by putting on the ship across huge wooden beams and tying them to the mast or booming out big wooden floats on either side of the ship or joining with the ship another loaded ship or boats by means of planks laid athwart securely tied. These methods so simple to be primitive, are practised even today by the indigenous seafaring people on the coasts

9. Even in medieval times the use of sewn-ships because of this quality is referred to by Ibn Battuta (Tr. H. A. R. Gibb, Broadway Travellers Series, London, 1929, p. 243) and Sulaiman (Silsilat ul Tawarikh Tr. Ferrand: *Voyage du Marchand Arabe Sulayman* Paris, 1922, p. 93).

10. According to modern meteorological observation, the storm period in the Bay of Bengal and Arabian Sea is from April to December, the most dangerous storms occurring during the transition periods at the beginning and end of the monsoon. Cf. *The West Coast of India Pilot*, op. cit., pp. xxvii-xxviii. Due to lack of authentic and adequate sources it is difficult to say when the early seafarers would have timed their voyages, but can suggest very likely the middle of the monsoon months as the period of their voyages. E.g., Sailings would have been safer and favourable from India to the West if commenced during end December/early January along with north-east winds and from the West to India during July/September along with south-west winds. Cf. E. H. Warmington, *The Commerce Between the Roman Empire and India*, Cambridge, 1928, pp. 35-83.

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of India.¹¹ The heavy winds would have been harnessed by opening additional masts and sails. There is reference to ships of three masts in the *Jātakas*.¹² However ships could not have been unwieldy for the crew leaving therefore great scope for the control of the ships, directing them to safer areas in times of dangers.

Calms are frequent in the Arabian Sea and their locations vary from place to place with change of seasons depending upon the atmospheric pressure and the movement of winds. Calms were hindrance to sailing as in the absence of blowing winds, there would not be a natural force to push the sails. At such times, paddles and oars of ships would have been worked to cause movements and to come out of that danger.

Fogs are also known in the Arabian Sea. They are usually found only near the shores. Besides they are of temporary nature clearing away after some time. Fogs could gather and prevail only at the time of steady winds. With the rise of the sun and the blow of winds fogs would melt away. Hence delayed sailings in foggy weather would have considerably minimised the dangers arising from them.

Shore-finding Birds.

It was an ingenious practice among the early Indian and very likely also among other ancient seafarers to carry with them trained birds of strong wings in their voyages to guide them to shores in case of difficulty to determine landward directions. The birds would be let to fly. If there were land within a few miles the birds would fly towards that direction and would not return; otherwise the birds would return to the ship after flying in all directions to get to land. This instinct of birds particularly of crows which are a conspicuous species of birds of India, is a common knowledge.¹³ There are references to shore-finding birds, crows,

11. Cf. J. Hornell, *The Origin and Ethnological Significance of Indian Boat Designs, Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, VII, 1918-1923.

12. *Jātaka* No. 190. *The Jātaka*, *op. cit.*

13. Cf. J. Hornell, *The Role of Birds in Early Navigation, Antiquity*, XX, 1946, pp. 142-148.

in the *Digha Nikaya*¹⁴ and the *Bāveru Jātaka*¹⁵ as having been carried by seafarers in their trading expeditions.¹⁶ The existence of this practice among the seamen of Ceylon was found by Pliny¹⁷ in the first century A.D. and Cosmas Indicopleustes in the sixth century A.D. The use of shore-finding birds would have been necessitated only when the seafarers sailed far away from the land, very likely on the high seas, as there could be only little scope for their use while hugging through coasts, the shores being very near.¹⁸

Sea-Creatures and Pirates:

The sea-creatures which presented danger to seafarers included *makaras* and leviathans able to swallow whole ships.¹⁹ Evil spirits also were thought to have dwelt in mysterious islands and whipped up storms. In case of threats, the sea-creatures had to be fought with.

14. Text I, 222, Tr. T. W. and C. A. F. Rhys Davids, 3 vols. London, 1899-1921.

15. Jātaka No. 339, *The Jātaka*, op. cit.

16. The use of shore-finding birds is mentioned in the famous flood legends of Western Asia, e.g., The Biblical Story of Noah and the Babylonian story of the Deluge. Cf. Genesis VI-VIII.

H. Heras, "The Crow of Noe" *Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, X, No. 2.

M. E. Malim, Noah's Flood, *Antiquity*, V, 1931, pp. 213-220.

Wallis Budge, *The Babylonian Story of the Deluge*, pp. 41-54. *Babylonian Life and History*, pp. 92-97.

A. S. Vaidyanatha Iyer, The Flood Legends of the East, *Journal of the Bombay Historical Society*, II, 1929.

17. *Natural History*, VI, 22.

18. W. W. Tarn writes: "... but the use of a 'shore-sighting bird' does not prove ocean voyages. I am speaking only of Greeks and Indians at one particular period. Polynesians and Malays have crossed great expanses of ocean in their canoes both before and since." *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, Cambridge, 1938, p. 368, footnote.

It is pertinent to ask in this connection that if Polynesians and Malays could cross 'great expanses of ocean' in their 'canoes', why Indians could not cross at least the 'seas' in well-built ships with navigational aids like shore-sighting birds and with the full knowledge of the methods to counteract sea-dangers? Surely the mere mention of shore-sighting bird does not prove sea-voyages, but the reference should be studied along with the other data proving their maritime traditions.

19. Sussondi-Jātaka, *The Jātaka*, op. cit.

Piracy was a potential danger throughout the coasts of the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal.²⁰ In early times there could not have been national kinship among the people of different tribes inhabiting the land, more so among the pirates, in the absence of a centralised common political rule. The want of this sense of

20. The coastline of Western Asia was known for piracy even from very early times. Sennacherib, the famous Assyrian king, with the aid of a great fleet attempted to exterminate piracy in 694 B.C. (Cf. Rawlinson, *Intercourse Between India and the Western World*, Cambridge, 1916, p. 6).

Pliny mentions of a tribe of Arabians called Ascitae who 'placing the inflated skins of oxen beneath a raft of wood,....ply their piratical vocation with the aid of poisoned arrows.' (*Natural History*, VI, 35). The Hinavi Arabs, well-known pirates, were said to have established themselves near muscat in the fourth century B.C. (Danvers' *Persian Records*, p. 5).

According to Strabo (XVI, i, 10) and Arrian, the Persians blocked the mouths of the Tigris to prevent the incursions of pirates from the coastal side and it was not until the time of Alexander that the obstructions were removed. (Vincent, *Ancient Commerce*, I, 505).

Along the south Kathiawar, Cambay and Gujerat coasts the pirates were chiefly Kolis and to a less extent Kharvas. About the Gulf of Cutch, near Beyt, Dwaraka and Porbandar, which was their chief haven, they were Jats, Vaghers, Sanghars, Meds or Mers and Mianas. Of these, the Sanghars and Vaghers were probably the most ancient. The Vaghers or Kabas are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*, the Sanghars (of Sind and West of Indus) are possibly alluded to by Nearchus. (*Bombay Gazetteer*, IX, 526).

According to Pliny (*Natural History*, VI, 23) the Greek or Egyptian vessels which traded with India, were large, well-found and well-manned and carried companies of archers as the seas they traversed were greatly infested with pirates. The nearest port of call of such vessels was Muziris (Cranganore) which too was considered not a very suitable port 'on account of the pirates which frequent its vicinity, where they occupy a place called Nitrias identified by some scholars with Nitran or Netrani (or Pigeon Island) fifteen miles north-west of Bhatkal.

Ptolemy (second century A.D.) refers to a portion of the Western Coast of India as the Pirate Coast which extended from Chaul to Mangalore or roughly from Bombay to Goa. (McCrinkle, *India as described by Ptolemy*, p. 45). Ptolemy says (VII, i, 84) that pirates occupied five ports, viz., Mandagara, Byzantion, Khersonesus, Armagara and Nitria and even two inland towns, viz. Olokhaira ad Mousopalla. (*Bombay Gazetteer*, I, 1, 541; X, 192 n.).

Kshemendra's work *Bodhisattvavadana Kalpalata* records a tradition that Asoka had to issue a sort of marine edict on a copper plate against the seafaring piracy of Nagas. (R. Mookerji, *A History of Indian Shipping*, 1912, p. 114).

For accounts of piracy Cf. S. C. Hill, Notes on Piracy in Eastern Waters, *The Indian Antiquary*, January 1923-October 1928.

affinity resulted in the attack and plunder of all the ships that came on their way indiscriminately as to whether the ships belonged to an alien land or to a kingdom of their own neighbouring territory.

Besides the vessels hugging through coasts could not have overcome the dangers that were usually beset by caravans and the traffic of the overland route. The free use of the sea no doubt made the sea-transport cheaper than the land-transport, but the free use of the sea could not have proved the free use of the coasts as well. The whole coastline would have been controlled strip by strip by different tribes, hospitable and inhospitable, according to the extent of their respective territories and hugging through these coast-strips for direct traffic between far distant communities could have been highly insecure and rendered very difficult if not impossible due to tribal and political disturbances on the route.

There could not have been also a common understanding and union among all the tribal countries lying on the coasts to take co-ordinated action to put an end to the piratical menace in general, as many of the rulers themselves seemed to have indulged in or encouraged piracy among their subjects either as one of their martial moves or for the covetable wealth of the merchant vessels.

However, the natural tendency of pirates to confine their activities coast-bound with a view to leave scope for their easy escape would have minimised the danger of piracy on the high seas. Nevertheless, during the early period under study, piracy was a deterrent factor for sea-trade in general and coastal trade in particular,

Some Important Literary Colophons and their Bearings on the History and Chronology of Mithila (c. 1097-1324 A.D.)

BY

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In the absence of any epigraphic or numismatic evidence we have to depend solely on the literary sources. In this paper an attempt has been made to reconstruct the chronological history of Mithilā on the basis of the colophons of various manuscripts scattered all over the world. These colophons are important because they give us the name of the king, the date of the compilation and in certain cases the era mentioned is that of Lakṣmana Samvata, which is still a controversial point in history. In some cases the incidental notice is given in the body of the manuscript. One will certainly agree with the late Mm. H. P. Sastri that there are few regions of India, possessing an ancient civilisation, about which we have less definite historical information than the region north of the Ganges.¹

Nānyadeva:

The Karnaṭ king, Nānyadeva, ascended the throne of Mithilā in 1097 A.D. The colophon of a commentary on Bharata's Nātyaśāstra,² written by Nānyadeva, is of great historical importance. The colophon refers to the author as Śrī Mahāsāmāntādhipati Dharmāvalok Śrīmān Nānyapati. From this Colophon it is evident that Nānyadeva was a Feudatory chief before he assumed the

1. Catalogue of Palm-leaf Manuscripts, p. 18.

2. Ramakrishna Kavi—"Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society"—October 1926, pp. 55-63.

royal power. In the body of the commentary, Nānya refers to himself as Mithileśvara, Karṇāt Kūlbhuṣaṇ, Dharmādhārbbhūpati, Rājñārāin. Nṛpmalla etc. From the historical stand-point this commentary is invaluable as it throws a flood of light on his life and political relations.

Gangadeva:

Another important Colophon is that of Rāmāyaṇ Manuscript, found in Nepal. It was discovered by Bendall. The colophon reads as follows: "Saṃvat 1076 Āṣādh Vadi 4 Mahārājādhirāj Punyāvalok Som Vamsodhava Gauḍ-dhvaja Śrī-mad Gāngeyadeva bhujiyāmān Tirbhuktau Kalyān Vijayrājye Nepāl desiya Śrī bhaṅkṣu śālika Śrī Ānandasya Pātakāvasthit (Kāysthā) Paṇḍit Śrī Śrī Srikurasyātmaj Śrī Gopatinā Lekhidan." Another copy of the same Colophon was brought to the notice of Scholars by Dr. Raghubir, whose copy was exhibited in the fourth session of the Indian History Congress (Lahore), wherein some difference is visible. In place of 'Gauḍ-dhvaja', there occurs 'Garuḍa-dhvaja' and 'Kṛte' after 'Śrī Ānandāsyā'. This particular Colophon has been subjected to various interpretations. The Colophon gives in the following particulars:

- (i) Gāngeyadeva of Tirabhukti was ruling in the year 1076 of an unspecified era —
- (ii) bore the title of Mahārājādhirāj and the Viruda Punyāvaloka —
- (iii) belonged to the Lunar race —
- (iv) had some political authority in Gauda (according to Bendall's copy) —
- (v) Eagle as the standard (according to Dr. Raghuvira's copy).

This has given rise to a good deal of confusion among the scholars like Levi, Bendall, Chandā, Mazumdar, Mirashi and others. On account of the archaic nature, Bendall referred to the Vikrama Era and took it to be equivalent to 1019 A.D. Bendall identified Gāngeyadeva with the Kālāchuri king of that name.³

3. Catalogue of Palm-leaf Mss. (Introduction), p. 18-19,

This has been questioned by Levi and others.⁴ Mr. Mirashi does not agree with the above scholars and suggests the possibility of Rāṣtrakūṭa domination in Tirhut.⁵ Dr. R. C. Mazumdar identified this king with the Karṇāt king of that name of Mithilā and his conclusion seems to be plausible in the light of all possible evidences.⁶ The year in the Colophon does not specify the era to which it belongs and does not mention any week day, etc., and hence it does not admit of verification.⁷ This Colophon, supplemented by other sources and local traditions, confirms our belief that this Gāngeyadeva belonged to the Karṇāt dynasty of Mithilā.

Rāmsinghdeva.

Rām Singhdeva succeeded Gāngeyadeva. The Colophon of the Manuscript "Suddhikalpataru" reads—"Samvat 1446—Samay Pauṣa Sudi 14 Śanou Śrīmannārayāṇpur Nṛpnārāyaṇetyādi - - - daratnātrāji vibhṛājman mahānṛpati Śrīmadrāmsinghdeva bhujyamānyā", etc. It shows that the book was written on the 14th of the bright half of the month of Pauṣa in Samvata 1446 on Saturday which is equivalent to 1st January 1390 A.D.⁸ Another manuscript of the Nepāl Darbār catalogue refers to Rāma Singhdeva.⁹ Suddhikalpataru manuscript is important because it gives us a date of king Rām Singhdeva of Mithilā. The chronology of Mithilā is still in a state of hopeless confusion. On the basis of the Nepālese and Mithilā tradition Rāma Singhdeva can be placed between C. 1229 and 1291 A.D. According to the Colophon, in question, Rāmasinghdeva flourished in 1390 A.D. and on the basis of this source Mr. Chakravarti has placed Rāma Singhdeva two steps below Harasinghdeva.¹⁰ As this particular Colophon involves a very important question of the chronology of the Karṇāts of Mithilā, we have to depend upon other sources in this connection. A tradition about Nānyadeva and his dynasty has been

4. Levi—Nepāl, Vol. 2, p. 202, F. N. 1; Chandā—"Gaud Rājmalā, p. 42 F. N.

5. Silver Jubilee Volume of the ABORI, Poona, pp. 300-01.

6. I.H.Q., Vol. VII, pp. 679-689; cf. *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 170.

7. Vide my paper on "Gāngayadeva of Tirabhukti" in the Lucknow session of A.I.O.C. (1951).

8. India Office Mss. 4741—of the 'Sudhikalpatara', Foli 62b.

9. Nepal Darbar Catalogue, p. 23.

10. JASB, (N. S.) Vol. XI—pp. 414 and 432 (Appendix).

recorded in two inscriptions of Pratāpmalla of Nepal, dated Nepāl Samvat 769 (= 1648 A.D.) and 778 (= 1653 A.D.) The first inscription gives us the following list—

Nānyadeva

Nepālese —

Vaṃśāvali

(son) Gangadeva

(son) Nṛsinghdeva.

(son) Rāmsinghdeva

Saktisinghdeva (son)

(son) Bhupālsinghdeva.

(son) Harasingadeva.

(1) Nānyadeva—50 yrs.

(2) Gangadeva—41 yrs.

(3) Nṛsingdeva—39 yrs.

(4) Rāmsinghdeva—58 yrs.

(5) Harasingh—28 yrs.

According to Nepāl Vaṃśāvali and Mithilā tradition Rāmsinghadeva undoubtedly preceded Harasinghdeva. Mr. Chakravarti has further confounded the issue by making one Nṛsingha as the immediate successor of Narasinghadeva and the immediate predecessor of Rām Singhadeva.¹¹ This he has done on the basis of the tale of the 'Truthful Hero' in Vidyāpati's *Purush-Parikshā*.¹² According to this tale Narasingadeva of Kaṇāt dynasty is said to have helped one Yavaṇa king, Muhammad, of Hastināpur. Messrs. Chakravarti and Grierson have identified this king with Muhammad-bin-Tuglak.¹³ On whatever sources we rely, we have to accept that the Kaṇāt king, Narasingadeva, ruled between C. 1177 and 1229 A.D. and as such he cannot be a contemporary of Muhammad-bin-Tuglak who flourished in the first half of the 14th century. It seems plausible to identify this Yavaṇa king with Muhammad Ghori. This identification finds support in Mithilā tradition which asserts that Narasingh used to go to Kanauj with his uncle Malladeva and after the defeat of king Jayachandra of Kanauj, Narasinghadeva went to Muhammad Ghori's Court.¹⁴

The question arises, who this Ramsinghdeva was during whose reign "Suddhi Kalpataru" was completed? It is a well-known

11. *Ibid.*

12. *Purush-Parikshā*,—edited by Grierson, pp. 19-21.

13. *JASB*, *opt. cit.*, p. 412, Grierson, *opt. cit.*, p. 19. Cf. S. N. Singh—*"History of Tirhut"*, p. 68.

14. Mm. P. Jha—*"Mithilā-Tattva-Vimarsha"*, p. 115. Also *"Varnan-Ratnākar"*, edited by Dr. Chatterjee and Babu Misra—English Introduction, p. XVIII.

fact that Rām Singhdeva of the Karnāt dynasty was a liberal patron of learning. Various commentaries and other learned treatises were compiled under his regime. Śrīkar wrote a commentary on Amarakośa, Ratneśvara Misra on Rhetoric, and Prthvidhara on Mṛcchakatika. Some confusion has been created by the mention of a king in Gadadhar's "Tantra-pradip".¹⁵ Karmāditya was Rāmsingha's minister and his inscription of Lakṣmaṇa Samvata 212 is still unnoticed.¹⁶ All historical evidences prove that Harasinghadeva was the last king of the Karnāta dynasty and after him a new dynasty was set up by the Delhi Emperor.

One Nṛsiṅgh is mentioned as Rāmdatta's "Dāna-Paddhati". Rāmdatta was the son of Ganeśwara, minister of Narasiṅghdeva. This Narasiṅghadeva (II) of Rāmadatta's "Dānapaddhati" must be distinguished from Narasiṅgh (I) of Karnāt dynasty. We know that after the flight of Harasinghdeva to Nepal, his successors continued struggling in Tirhut. This Narasiṅghadeva II must have been a local successor of Harasinghadeva under the Delhi Emperor. It is probable that Ghiyasuddin Tuglak installed somebody in power. In "Dāna-Paddhati" Narsiṅgha II is called "Śrīmar," and the use of this particular epithet shows that he did not wield any extensive and overall power like an independent king, because in that case his own minister should not have used only "Śrīman". Similarly the king mentioned in "Suddhikalpataru" is called "Mahānṛpati". It seems, therefore, that this Rāmsingha-deva of "Suddhikalpataru" (1390 A.D.) was a local ruling chieftain. He cannot be identified with any Karnāt king as the Mithilā tradition or other historical evidences do not give us any such clue. It seems that the authority of both Narasiṅgha II and Rāmsingha II was limited to the neighbourhood of Simarāṇ.

15. Bendall—JASB, 1903, p. 19, JASB, 1915, p. 413.

16. अब्दे नेत्र शशांक पक्ष (गणिते २१२) श्री लक्ष्मण क्ष्मापतेर्मासि श्रावणसंज्ञके मुनितियो स्वात्यां गुरौ शोभने। हावीपट्टनसंज्ञके सुविदिते हैहटदेवीशिवा कर्मादित्य-सुमन्तिणेह सौभाग्यदेवाज्ञया ॥ (Haihhat Devi image Inscription—) still unnoticed.

Also another Inscription on the temple of Tilakeshwara bears the name of Karmāditya. This has been noticed by Sri Nagendranath—in his Vidyāpati's Padāvali.

Harasinghdeva, his Ministers:

From Vidyāpati's *Purush-Parikṣā* we learn that Ganeśvara was a very able Minister of Harsinghadeva.¹⁷ He was in charge of Home-affairs. He wrote "*Sugati-Sopāna*" for the benefit of the people.¹⁸ The introduction to "*Sugati-Sopāna*" throws a very interesting light on the constitutional history of Mithilā. It seems that he presided over the feudatory rulers of Mithilā. It is evident from the Colophon of a Nepāl Manuscript of 1343 that the chief of the council of feudatory nobles had high sounding title of Mahārājādhirāj.¹⁹ In his introduction to "*Chāndogyamaṇtroddhāra*", he uses the following epithet for Ganeśvara

- (a) Mahārājādhirāj
- (b) Mahāsāmānt
- (c) Mahāmattaka.

These evidences, taken together, lead us to infer that the chief protector of the feudal nobles bore the title of Mahārājādhirāja. The Colophon to "*Gangā-Pattakka*" by Ganeśvara refers to the author as Mahāsāmāntādhipatti. This Colophon points to the existence of powerful feudal lords headed by Ganeśvara. These lords wielded sufficient political power.

The introductory verse to "*Sugati-Sopāna*" gives us a picture of the then political condition. It refers to Gauda²⁰ and to a council of Seven Elders. Some sort of contact with the Muslim Sultān is indicated in the verse. A verse in the *Dānratnākara* says that Mithilā was sinking in the ocean of the Mlechas.²¹ It appears that some sort of contest between the king of Mithilā and the Muslim must have begun by that time. Through the riverine tracts of Bhāgalpur and Monghyr lying north of the Ganges lay the highway of communication between Oudh and Bengāl. There is no recorded Muslim invasion (from Delhi) of Mithilā prior to 1324. Delhi army generally used to pass through Tirhut. That

17. Grierson—*op. cit.*, p. 47.

18. दृष्टुं लोकहितैषिणा ।

19. H. P. Sastri—*Nepal Catalogue*—I, 136.

20. Introductory verse—4.

21. R. Mitra—*Notices* VI, 135, No. 2069.

Harasiṅghdeva defeated some Muslim king is corroborated by Chandreśvara and Jyotiśvara Thākur.²² Dr. S. K. Chatterjee observes—"For evidently Harasiṅghadeva was able to recover his kingdom after the tide was stemmed, since it was after the expulsion of the Muhammadans, or after their voluntary retirement, that Dhūrtasamāgam and Dānratnākar were composed."²³ Whether it was an invasion from Bengāl or Delhi, it is difficult to say. Mithilā was sandwiched between the two Muslim provinces of Oudh and Lakhanasti. The rulers of neighbouring Muslim province might have raided the land and Chandreśvara must have taken an active part in expelling them out of Tirhut. The expulsion was definitely transitory because we find that in 1324 A.D. Harasiṅghadeva lost to the Muslim the last semblance of independence in North eastern India.

22. Dhūrtasamāgam Nātak—Nepal Darbar Notices, p. 66.

23. Introduction to V. R., p. XVII.

Reviews

THE APPROACH TO SELF-GOVERNMENT—by Sir W. Ivor Jennings (Published by the Cambridge University Press).

Sir Ivor Jennings needs no introduction to students of constitutions. His monographs on 'the British Constitution', 'Parliament' and 'Cabinet Government' are standard works in the field, while his observations on the Indian and Ceylon Constitutions in the form of lectures and articles are at once critical and constructive. Having served as the constitutional adviser to the Governments of Ceylon and Pakistan and latterly as the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Ceylon, he has had opportunities of studying first hand some of the Asian constitutions.

His latest book, 'The Approach to Self-Government' which embodies his talk to the B.B.C., is an important contribution intended to guide the Asian countries which have recently become independent in grappling with their new political problems. But he does not assume the attitude of a mentor, obsessed by superiority complex offering advice from a high pedestal. If he does refer frequently to the robust common sense, the practical outlook, the national patriotism, the admirable homogeneity and the age-long traditions of the British, he is sincerely convinced that these favourable features have made democracy a success in Britain. These references are particularly relevant because in all the Asian countries which have won independence, in essence, the British pattern of political organisation has been introduced. But Sir Ivor Jennings rightly emphasises that every constitution is a product of the history of its people. Therefore, the local variations have to be systematically studied before constitutional prescriptions are offered to the respective countries. He repeats frequently that Bentham's optimism in the feasibility of prescribing constitutions based on fundamental principles of human character is totally misplaced.

The problems which India faces are her social cleavages, linguistic differences, wide economic disparities, low level of education, the prevalent apathy of electors and the want of a strong opposition party. These, however, are more or less common to

Ceylon and Pakistan. These defects have been stressed for quite a long time now. Sir George Chesney, Sir Fitz James Stephen, Sir Alfred Lyall, Sir Henry Maine, Viscount Morley and others had emphasised these shortcomings and seriously doubted the practicability of successfully implanting parliamentary institutions in India. But while the opinions of earlier writers were then viewed with suspicion by political groups in India, now there is no reason why the plain speaking of Sir Ivor Jennings should not be appreciated. His theme is eminently fitted for the hour; his method of approach is, on the whole, practical and sympathetic.

But the picture of the situation which arose on the wake of the great and rather unexpected partition of India is slightly overdrawn (p. 6). Considering the magnitude of the problems involved, the transitory difficulties have not proved insurmountable. Nor does the learned author seem to err on the side of discretion when he suggests that of the four countries, Ceylon alone is likely to continue in the Commonwealth. It may be a shrewd forecast; but, coming as it does, from a British writer of high standing, it may have unexpected psychological reactions.

It is underlining the obvious to say that the constitutions of these four Asian countries bear the imprint of the British constitution. History explains it. While over-stressing the excessively large size of the Indian constitutional document, it is gratifying to find the learned author recalling the fact that the text of the Government of India Act, 1935, contains 56 printed pages more than the Constitution of India. It is but natural that people who start afresh err on the side of excessive caution and yield to the temptation of putting too much into the Constitution. Nor do the 'Directive Principles of State Policy', deserve all the adverse comments he has bestowed on them. Though they do not create justiciable rights, they are not merely pious aspirations, much less 'pieces of political propaganda which may safely be ignored' (p. 20). On the other hand, they influence the outlook and practical policy of the legislatures, the public and the press. Let us not forget that the problems of India are much more complex than those of Eire or of Republican Spain which have adopted the 'Directive Principles of State Policy'. Even at the worst, political propaganda on behalf of righteous causes through the sanctified agency of the nation's constitution does not seem objectionable.

More useful are the practical suggestions made for working the representative institutions to the best advantage. It is indisputable that the 'real problem in any country is not to draft a constitution or to make the laws, but to find men and women capable of running the machinery of government'. One important prescription is the active promotion of a sense of national patriotism overriding all the differences of religion, caste, language, and economic positions. It must be conceded that some of these differences have been given political recognition. A partition of the country on the basis of religion was perhaps a mistake; a redistribution on the basis of language was much more so. But it is easy to be wise after the event. The practical need is to face the accomplished facts.

Electors have to be educated; and instead of becoming desperate over the difficulties involved, there ought to be a long-range view of the problem and a gradual improvement of the situation might be aimed at. The gross abuses connected with elections are well known. Communalism is a deep-rooted evil; perhaps the rise of new parties which transcend the communal divisions will help the solution of the problem. The question is whether the politicians of the day have learnt the lesson from the events which led to the emergence of Pakistan. Be it remembered that the majority party has to make tactful gestures and broad concessions in order to win the real confidence of the people concerned. Politicians have done much mischief, none will dispute. There is some truth in the author's statement: 'One realises how easy political problems would become if there were no politicians'. But at the same time it behoves us also to remember the good that occasionally the politicians have done. If partitions and linguistic reorganisations are products of their skilful trade on emotional frailties, the securing of independence itself owes not a little to their sustained efforts.

Proper legislators have to be chosen. A strong opposition party in all these countries of Asia is a desideratum. The system of one-party rule not only encourages intrigue within the Cabinet, as the author says, but tends to develop a complacency and contentment which are ruinous to progress. A highly skilled public service is essential. Interference of politicians with the permanent civil service is to be totally prohibited. Though the difficulties are formidable there is no cause for despair. It is heartening to be

told by the learned writer: 'There is no problem of government that cannot be solved by goodwill, and if goodwill is lacking one must take steps to create it. My experience in Asia has made me an optimist'.

Surprisingly the Index is not satisfactory. The book is an important contribution of practical value. Politicians, administrators, statesmen, lawyers and other citizens will find it useful.

K. K. PILLAY

HISTORY OF GOLCONDA: by Abdul Majeed Siddiqui (The Literary Publications, Himayatnagar).

The history of the Muslim states of North India has received a comparatively greater attention at the hands of historians than that relating to those of South India. The more spectacular achievements of the Muslim powers of the north and the more abundant sources of information available in respect of their history partly explain the difference. But it is undeniable that the Muslim kingdoms of South India played an important role in the political, social and cultural history of the land from about the 14th to the 18th centuries. The kingdom of Golconda, for instance, had had an interesting history for about two hundred years. The Qutub Shahi kings have influenced the culture of the Deccan in no small measure.

Mr. Abdul Majeed Siddiqui has provided a lucid account of the history of Golconda from the time of its rise as an independent kingdom down to its incorporation with the Mughal empire. This book is a rendering of his Urdu version of the subject written 17 years ago. The author claims to have utilised "all the sources available in Persian, Urdu, English, as also chronicles, inscriptions and traditions." A discussion on the relative values of the various sources could have been added with advantage. He has not clearly stated the reasons why in respect of certain details he discards Ferishta's version while concerning others he adopts his account as true. For example, he accepts fully the statement that Sultan Quli assumed sovereignty ever since he was placed in charge of the Telugu province (p. 20). But regarding the advent

of Sultan Quli to the Deccan he rejects Ferishta's testimony and accepts the version of the local histories like the Qutub Shahi, and Tazkeratul Muluk Khafi (p. 10), adding that these are more reliable than Ferishta. For obvious reasons he repudiates Khafi Khan's account of Abul Hasan (p. 303-8). In any case, it is essential that in books of this kind, which are not intended to be 'text-books', the causes of the discrimination and a critical assessment of the original authorities should be provided.

The political history of Golconda from its foundation by the Sultan Quli, its consolidation under Ibrahim Shah, its participation in the epoch-making battle of Talikota, its cultural advance under the enlightened Muhammed Quli Qutub Shah, a patron of art and literature, and finally its relations with the Mughals until it was annexed by Aurangzeb, are all narrated with commendable vividness. The author attempts a vindication of the much-maligned Abul Hasan. He shows also how the liquidation of the Golconda state in the face of the increasing power of the Marathas was a political blunder on the part of Aurangzeb.

It is interesting to observe that 'all the Qutub Shahi kings were tolerant, humane and just'. He claims that all the Qutub Shahi Sultans 'treated their Hindu subjects as liberally as they did the Muslim community'. It is indisputable that certain Sultans were notably beneficent in their relations with their non-Muslim subjects. Abul Hasan's munificent awards of jagirs to the Bhadrachalam and Bhramara Malleswaraswami temples are remarkable. But, adequate original evidence should have been furnished in favour of the specific details that 'in appointments to public service they (the Qutub Shahs) showed no discrimination', and that there was 'identification of the rulers with the ruled'. A quotation from even a 'modern historian' can by no means take the place of a reference to the original sources in respect of such deductions of policy.

The latter part of the book contains an account of the social and economic conditions of the people during the Qutub Shahi rule. One cannot but wish that this section had received a much fuller treatment than what has been given by the author. Golconda was rich in natural resources, agriculture, forest and mineral wealth, especially diamonds. An exhaustive study of the economic conditions would have enhanced the value of the book. A vivid picture of the social life of the Muslim nobility and the

poorer Muslims on the one hand and of the Hindus on the other, is necessary to make the social history complete. This is all the more necessary because he claims that 'Golconda evolved a new pattern of life and culture the ingredients of which are still visible to the social life of the Deccan' (Preface, p. IV). It is unfortunate that the book is totally devoid of illustrations of all kinds. None of the artistic pieces of art has been reproduced. Nor is any map provided. There is no Index, nor an Errata, in spite of the several misprints which have crept in. The Bibliography of works in Persian, Urdu, Telugu and British is, however, quite useful.

K. K. PILLAY

TRANSACTIONS OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTH INDIA, Vol. I, 1955.

This is the first time that the Archaeological Society of South India, during twenty-one years of existence, has come forward to publish in book form the papers read before the Society during the course of the year. This volume contains eight papers read and discussed at the meetings of the Society, besides a brief account of the history of the Archaeological Society of South India since its establishment in 1935.

The first paper is that of Sri T. G. Aravamuthan, the well-known Archaeological enthusiast, on 'Temple and Pyramid and Obelisk', in which he examines the marvellous feat undertaken in raising huge stones to the top in connection with construction of the Brihadiswara temple of Tanjavur and the Egyptian Pyramids and the erection of Obelisks or columns. He tries to show that the scaffolding adopted for taking up the 80 ton Vimana-stone of Tanjavur or the equally heavy capstones of certain pyramids or the roof-slabs over the King's Chamber in the Great Pyramid at Giza must have been of the Mound-cum-Ramp type. Though a little too long and occasionally verbose, the article maintains to the last the interest of the reader. Dr. B. CH. Chhabra's short paper on 'Epigraphy in Indian Archaeology', coming as it does from a seasoned expert in the field, attempts a balanced assessment of the value of Indian epigraphy as well as a lucid exposition of the inter-connection between Epigraphy and Archaeology on the one

hand and between Archaeology and History on the other. It is followed by a note from Sri Rao Bahadur S. T. Srinivasa Gopalachari on certain coins of the Pallavas, Cheras, Cholas and Pandyas, suitably illustrated. The coins selected are interesting and are of historical value. Since a comprehensive catalogue of the coins of South India has not yet appeared, the attempt at assessing the importance of the coins of the early dynasties is indeed useful, though the author's references to the history of the Pallavas and Cheras are not based upon current theories. Dr. T. V. Mahalingam writes on the history of the Village communities of South India from the Sangam Age down to modern times. The distinctive characteristics of the famous rural self-government prevalent in the medieval days, the admirable working of the Sabha and its committees in Uttaramerur and Manur as well as the causes which led to the decline of the time-honoured institutions are described. Dr. Klaus Fischer outlines in an unconventional manner the importance of certain discoveries in Indian art. The items described by him are those seen in a random tour; consequently, the account lacks unity. Some of the objects which have received attention at his hands are no doubt interesting, as for example, the Mithuna in the temples of Orissa, the Gopura of South Indian temples and the Jain Tirthanakara Rock carvings. The Plates illustrating some of the themes are good. Dr. V. Raghavan's paper deals with the sculptures and paintings in European Museums and some of the items are illustrated. An article which treats of the 'Antiquities of Tulu Nad', contributed by Sri P. R. Srinivasan is of remarkable interest to the student of early Indian history. A brief survey of the history of Tulu Nad is followed by an objective study of the vestiges of the different religious practices of the place. The Bhuta worship of antiquity, the Buddhist caves called the 'Panchapandava caves' and the Jain Bastis of a later period are described. He attempts at correlating certain early practices in the Tulu Nad with those of Egypt and Babylonia on the one hand and with those of the Rig Vedic India on the other. But if the Tulu practice of having effigies of priests is akin to that of mummifying the kings of Egypt, the existence of two tigers of wood representing 'Pulidevar' is not so easily explained. Obviously it has little to do with the Rig Vedic system of worship, for there is no evidence of a knowledge of the tiger on the part of the Rig-Vedic Aryan.

There is at present a vigorous attempt at tracing elements of our early culture to various sources and correlating them. It is

an interesting piece of study, but it demands careful handling on the basis of objective study, without being influenced by pre-conceived ideas. Sri P. R. Srinivasan has attempted an objective approach and he is commendably cautious in the statement of his conclusions. In the last article Sri T. G. Aravamudan follows up the theme from where Sri P. R. Srinivasan has left it. He has skilfully argued the case in support of his view. Sri T. G. Aravamudan's thesis, that the wooden figures of Barkur are symbols pertaining to the earliest form of Vedic Culture and are connected with the Harappa culture, await further elucidation and corroboration from other pieces of evidence. In fact, certain well known arguments suggesting totally different associations have to be explained, before the author's theory can be accepted.

Journals dealing with Archaeology are particularly found to be attractive. The get-up of this volume leaves much to be desired. There are misprints. The diacritical marks seem to upset the position of letters. It is to be hoped that the future volumes will in every respect prove more attractive than the product of this maiden attempt.

K. K. PILLAY¹

THE INDIAN CHRISTIANS OF ST. THOMAS: An account of the Ancient Syrian Church of Malabar by L. W. Brown, Bishop of Uganda, University Press, Cambridge, 1956, Pages xii and 315, Price 40s. net.

The purpose of the book as stated by the author is to make a fresh investigation of the history of the Malabar Church from an impartial and sympathetic standpoint. The significance of this book lies more in the manner of treatment of the subject matter than in the incorporation of new materials. Although the book is mainly devoted to the history of the "orthodox section" of the Syrian Christians, it also contains a brief account of the other sections like those who owe allegiance to Rome, and to the church of South India (the former Anglicans). Bishop Brown makes no secret of the fact that the Jacobites sharply divided on questions of supremacy and in consequence indulging in personal and private recriminations, have practically given up all hopes of reconciliation.

The author discounts the traditional belief in the founding of the Malabar Church by the apostle, St. Thomas, and suggests that the Malabar church might have been founded by the "East Syrian traders" of the Persian Gulf area. The fact that regular trade between East Mediterranean and South India thrived in the first century A.D., gives some credibility to Bishop Brown's views. But it is doubtful if this suggestion would totally disprove the St. Thomas tradition.

Bishop Brown devotes considerable attention to one important feature, viz, the influence of the successive contacts of foreign Christians—the Portuguese, the Spanish, the Italian, the Dutch, the French and the English—on the social, economic, religious and political condition of the Malabar Christians. In this connection the author throws some light not only on the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the various sections among the Malabar Christians but also on the rulers of some princely states of Kerala. In the course of outlining the history of the church from 1500 the author has also dealt with the various subsections of Malabar Christians, who parted company from the manifold. It is also pointed out how the Eastern or Syrian form of worship continued to flourish in Kerala, inspite of the advent of Western Christianity, unlike in England where the Celtic form of worship had been largely replaced by the Roman type.

In section 1 of Part II of the book Bishop Brown describes the social conditions of St. Thomas christians and indicates their recognised place in the rural and social economy in relation to the Hindu and "outcaste" communities. Section 2 contains an account of the social organisation and institutions of the Christian community; the various social divisions, the Northists and the Southists, racial and religious sects, the dowry system, inheritance, and the role of men, women and the clergy. Section 3 deals with the community life and social practices of the Syrian Christians such as birth and death ceremonies, betrothal and marriage rites, education, food, dress, attitude towards omens and witchcraft, buildings, furniture etc. The bulk of this information is taken from Mr. Krishna Aiyar's book "Anthropology of Syrian Christians" and as such has little significance to-day. The author himself admits in the introduction that "a Syrian Christian bishop who kindly read through and criticised the second part of this book in manuscript, remarked that most of the ceremonies described

were now unknown to young men and women, except in a few country districts."

Part III of the book contains a detailed account of all the religious rites of the Malabar Christians, such as Sunday services, daily prayers and occasional offices like baptismal service, wedding service, thanksgiving after child birth, anointing service, burial service, ordination service and other features of religious life. The account of the Sunday service in the church appears to be a factual statement of what goes on in the church without reference to the devotional significance implied in the rites.

The book also contains elaborate appendices explaining the system of transliteration of words, spelling and pronunciation of place names. Over and above these, there are illustrations, a glossary, bibliography, index, and a map, all of which are extremely useful to the general reader.

There is no doubt that Bishop Brown's book will serve as an eye-opener to the Indian Christians of St. Thomas and enable them to know what others think of them. The author observes that "if they could drive out the devil of litigiousness, and come together once more as a united body" they might "become a most powerful instrument for the evangelization of India." This work is an interesting contribution to the subject, describing in detail the history, social conditions, the creed and the main sections of the Indian Christians of St. Thomas. It is full of useful information and can be consulted with profit by scholars and students alike as a valuable book of reference.

Before concluding this review, one or two factual mistakes that have crept in may be noted.

In fixing the date of the Copper plate of Sthanu Ravi (on page 74) the author states that, "This is reckoned by T. K. Joseph as A.D., 880" In fact, it was Gopinatha Rao who first fixed this date as 880, and it was later accepted by others. But Sri Elankulam Kunjan Pillai has definitely proved with the help of Sankara Narayaneeyam written in 869 A.D. (by the Superintendent of Mahodayapuram Observatory) that because Sthanu Ravi ascended the throne in 844 A.D., (M.E. 19), the Copper plate in question granted in the fifth year of his reign must have been dated 849 A.D. and not 860 A.D.

There is another factual error on pages 72 and 73 where the author states that the two places Nilamperūr, near Changanacherry and Tiruvanchikulam are only a furlong apart. On page 159, line 3 it may be more appropriate to substitute 'litigation' for 'legislation.'

K. MAMMEN

INDIA IN THE VEDIC AGE, A HISTORY OF ARYAN EXPANSION IN INDIA—by Purushotham Lal Bhargava, M.A., Ph.D., Shastri, Professor and Head of the Department of Sanskrit, Maharaja's College, Jaipur. The Upper India Publishing House, Ltd., Lucknow, 1956, pages 202. Price Rs. 22-8-0.

The author describes in this book the history of the Rigvedic People, the Aryas. The book contains an elaborate account of their early home, their migration and settlements, their religious beliefs and social customs as well as their political condition. The Puranas are usually regarded as unhistorical, and "ir-reconcilable with the vedic literature, which is primarily religious rather than political. In view of the want of critical spirit of the early Indian Historical Literature Anglo-Indian writers pronounced the hasty judgment that 'Indians lacked historical sense'. But Dr. Bhargava, who is well-versed in Sanskrit literature, after patient and careful study of the Puranas, concludes that they contain "genuine matter pertaining to vedic times, though it is thickly coated with mythology". In this book the author tries to avoid the mistakes of the late Mr. P. E. Pargiter who did not give a proper place to the Vedic literature in his monumental book, 'Ancient Historical Tradition'.

After giving, in the introduction, a list of the famous scholars—both Indian and European who published their studies on Vedic subjects, Dr. Bhargava undertakes an elaborate study of the sources of information in three main divisions, viz., Religious or semi-Religious, Historical, and Epic-literature. A detailed description of the Samhitas, (the Rigveda and the three later Vedas), the Brahmanas, the Aranyakas, the Upanishads and the Six Vedangas is also attempted. It is pointed out that, "the present 18 Puranas grew out of the Vedic Purana, with alterations here and there by uneducated temple priests" or inferior class of priest-hood, and "not by Kshatriya hands as some European scholars maintain". The author then describes the value of the Epics—the Ramayana, the Mahabharata, and the Harivamsa.

Chapter III contains a general survey of the Aryan migration from their original home to the Sapta Sindhu in India. The author differs from the early historians and locates the original home of the Aryans "near some mountain range to the north of Sapta-sindhu, from where they descended into the plains of Saptasindhu, being compelled by a flood". This mountain range was either the Hindukush or the north-western part of the Himalayas (page 26). Also Dr. Bhargava puts forward a new conception of the Aryan expansion. It is said that a branch of the Aryans left India and settled in Persia and another branch went to Asia Minor and settled there in the 14th century B.C. Thus the Aryans instead of coming to India by these routes are said to have gone out of India to those places. The author traces their migration only upto Asia Minor and there is no reference to the Aryan expansion to the various European countries. He has, however, described the Aryan expansion to the land of the Dasas or Dravidians to the east and south.

The author asserts that "the Aryan civilisation of India is the oldest" for the "Indian Vedas are older than the European Homer or the Persian Zend Avesta" (p. 25). Dr. Bhargava makes such an assumption about the antiquity of the Vedas on the basis of a remarkable verse in the puranic literature that a period of 1050 years elapsed between the birth of King Parikshit I and the coronation of the Mahapadme Nanda. After elaborate calculations the author fixes the establishment of the first Aryan Kingdom in India in 3000 B.C. (p. 131). If this date 3000 B.C., is accepted, it will necessarily follow that the Aryans had contact with the people of the Indus Valley civilization, and also with the Hitites and other semitic people of Asia Minor.

Chapters IV and VIII dealing with "The Puranic Genealogies" and "The Families of Vedic Rishis" contain a detailed account of the Ruling families and Rishis of Saptasindhu with their genealogical tables. In the last chapter the author describes in a summary manner the history, society, and religion of the Aryas of the Vedic Age. Although the title of the book is "India in the Age of the Rigveda", it is really the history and the expansion of the Rigvedic Aryans. The book undoubtedly provides interesting and useful matter to specialists and students of Indian history.

K. MAMMEN

SCIENCE AND CIVILIZATION IN CHINA, Vol. II; by Joseph Needham, published by Cambridge University Press, Price 80s. net.

This is the second volume of Dr. Needham's monumental and scholarly study of the Science and Civilization in China. The first volume in the series was reviewed in this Journal in April 1955. It contained seven sections appropriately grouped together as Introductory Orientations. It was designed to furnish the general reader with a knowledge of the historical and geographical background as well as the characteristics of the language.

The present volume is devoted to the history of scientific thought in China. It covers "a great range of territory" because "Chinese cultural history is as complex as that of Europe." The range of interest and reference shown in it is extensive, and a reviewer can do no more than scratch the surface of a work so completely erudite and comprehensive in scope.

In eleven sections comprising the second volume, the history of scientific advance in China is traced from ancient times. In a short introduction (section 8) the author has attempted a brief survey of the various schools of philosophical thought in China.

Section nine deals with Confucianism, its general characteristics and its ambivalent attitude towards science. The major portion of this section has nothing to do with the history of science. With regard to the contribution of Confucianism to the development of scientific thought in China the author says that it "helped the germs of science on the one hand and injured them on the other side. On one side Confucianism was basically rationalistic, and opposed to any superstitions or even supernatural forms of religion. But on the other its intense concentration of interest upon human social life to the exclusion of non-human social phenomena negated all investigation of "Things as opposed to Affairs." Therefore, paradoxically enough, "rationalism proved itself less favourable than mysticism to the progress of science." Confucianism "simply turned away its face in accordance with the attitude of its founding fathers, from Nature and the investigation of Nature to concentrate a millennial interest on human society and human society alone."

In section ten there is an elaborate analysis of the philosophy of Taoism. "The Taoist system of thought is vitally important for the understanding of all Chinese science and technology. It was a unique and extremely interesting combination of philosophy and religion incorporating also proto-science and magic. It was the only system of mysticism in the world that was not profoundly anti-scientific." Dr. Needham has examined critically the views of many European writers regarding Taoist thought and put forward his own. "We owe to them the beginnings of chemistry, mineralogy, botany, Zoology, and Pharmaceutics in East Asia." But the economic system of feudal bureaucratism in China "sterilised the sprouts of natural science and no opening was left for the growth and flowering of the scientific elements in Taoism."

Section eleven deals with the scientific philosophy of the Mohists and Logicians. They did not make any significant contribution to the growth of scientific thought. They were however, interested in the basic methods of science and even experimentation arising out of war techniques. They were also interested in studies in mechanics and optics. They sketched out a complete theory of scientific method, but the greatest tragedy in the history of Chinese science was that the Taoist naturalist insight could not be combined with Mohist logic. The Logicians were like the Sophists with their definitions and paradoxes; they were essentially abstract logicians.,

In section twelve the author deals with the legalists, who "resembled the Confucians in being interested only in the governance of human society and not in the process of Nature. Their aversion to codification and positive law was one of the factors which rendered the intellectual climate of China uncongenial to the growth of systematic scientific thought."

The next is by far the longest and the most significant section in the entire book. It contains an exhaustive treatment of the fundamental ideas of Chinese science as worked out from early times by indigenous naturalists. The author discusses here three principal subjects, the theory of the Five Elements; that of the two Fundamental Forces in the Universe; and the scientific or rather proto-scientific use of that elaborate scientific symbolic structure, the Book of Changes. The explanation of the origin and meaning of the fundamental theories of the Two Forces in

the universe and the Five Elements is preceded by an enquiry into the etymological origins of some of the most important Chinese scientific words. In table 11 are found a number of characters selected for their scientific interest. Among these, there are twenty eight technological characters which like others were developed from the daily round of primitive life. These gave the Chinese the technical terminology for proto-scientific and scientific thinking and experimentation.

The author there traces the development of the theory of the five elements in China with reference to the literature on the subject and compares it with the thinking of the ancient Greeks about the elements. The five elements were associated with Water, Fire, Wood, Metal and Earth, and all these came from the Two Forces, but they gradually came to be associated with every conceivable category of things in the universe which it was possible to classify in fives as set forth in Table 12.

After dealing with the five elements of which all process and substance were composed, and their symbolic correlations, the author explains how the scientific or proto-scientific ideas of the Chinese involved two fundamental principles or forces in the universe the *Yin* and the *Yang*.

While the theories of the Five Elements and the Two Forces were a great help rather than a hindrance to the development of scientific ideas until the 17th century, the third component of Chinese scientific philosophy, the elaborate symbolic system of the Book of Changes was from the start a handicap. In table 13, the author shows the significance of the trigrams in the Book of Changes. The Book of Changes with its sixty four symbols came to be regarded as a repository of concepts to which almost any natural phenomenon could be referred.

Section fourteen is devoted to the treatment of Pseudo sciences like astrology, cheiromancy and geomancy and the sceptical tradition. "Superstitions flourished in China just as strongly as in all other ancient cultures. However some of these theories and practices have led to important discoveries in the practical investigation of natural phenomena." Side by side, the sceptical rational tradition was evolved. It was indeed one of the great achievements of Chinese culture.

J. 15

In section fifteen, the author examines the effects of Buddhism on the development of scientific thought in China. Some basic doctrines of Buddhism were antagonistic to the indigenous philosophies. The metaphysical idealism of the Buddhists was incompatible with the scientific Neo-Confucian view of the world. On the whole the influence which Buddhism exerted on Science and Scientific thought in China was "powerfully inhibitory." The Buddhist doctrine of inevitable ethical causation might be extended to cover the entire field of natural causation, but this never happened. The doctrine of *Maya* stood in the way. However, after the emergence of the Mahayana doctrine, an impetus was given to the study of the sciences allied to medicine. The author holds the view that the elements in developed Chinese Science which can be traced to Indian sources are surprisingly few but it is possible that some science was carried by the monks from India to China. The Chinese also benefited from contact with the Indian schools of formal and dialectical logic. There is evidence to show that the Chinese were influenced by Tantrism from India. According to the author, Tantrism represents one of the fields of research in which interesting discoveries concerning the early history of science in Asia are most likely to be made. The antagonistic effects of Buddhism on East Asian science are partly accounted for by the formal and psychological incompatibility of the other worldly rejection of this world with the development of science.

The progress of Taoist thought in the Thang and Sung periods is traced in section sixteen "During the Thang dynasty there was a second flowering of the Taoist Philosophy." The views and theories of the leading writers among the Chin and Thang Taoists and the Neo-Confucians are explained with reference to their works in considerable detail. Although many aspects of Chinese science such as alchemy, pharmaceutical botany, zoology and the physics of magnetism are patently Taoist in inspiration, it was the period of the Sung dynasty that witnessed the greatest flowering of indigenous Chinese science. The Neo-Confucian philosophy essentially scientific in quality was accompanied by a hitherto unparalleled flowering of all kinds of activities in the pure and applied sciences.

China in this period was fortunate in producing eminent men in all fields of scientific knowledge. Among the great scientists

of this period was Shen Kua in whose book occur the first definitely dated mention of the magnetic compass, and the first account of the construction of relief maps, with many other valuable scientific contributions. There were also eminent mathematicians who worked out the Sung Algebra and constituted the most advanced mathematical school in the world.

Chia Tan and Chu Ssu Pen were the greatest geographers of any country and any age. In chemistry, botany and zoology, the output was extraordinary. The art of printing was improved and the period was fruitful in medicine as many famous names like Sung Tzhu, the founder of forensic medicine bear witness. In two other fields, architecture and military technology, some basic books were composed during this period. All these remarkable achievements however did not bring Chinese science to the level of Galileo, Harvy and Newton. Nevertheless, it may be argued that "the theoretical foundations of the most modern European natural science owe more to men such as Chuang Chou, Chou Tun-i and Chu Hsi than the world has yet realised. The flow of techniques and inventions in the first millennium was mainly from East to West."

The author mentions in section seventeen the skill shown by the Chinese in the production of remarkable machines and instruments like automata, break or pedal carts or bicycles, automatic fan, water piping, barometers, thermometers, mirrors, siphons microscopes and magnifying glasses.

In the concluding section the author surveys extensively the main features of the history of law in Chinese civilisation. In this connection he makes frequent and elaborate references to Chinese juristic writings, and developments in the sphere of law within Western Civilisation. In certain respects, he says, the Chinese legal mentality was sometimes ahead of the European. "The utmost possible care was taken to prevent the fixation of guilt on the innocent." In comparison with the primitive ideas and practices persisting in Europe upto the 18th century, Chinese practice was more civilised. With regard to the concept of the Laws of Nature Dr. Needham has not found anything more than traces of it in the greatest of Chinese philosophical schools the Neo-Confucians of the Sung dynasty. "None of the words in ancient and medieval Chinese texts which have tempted translations as laws of Nature give us any right so to translate them." He has

explained at the close of this section why the conception of Law of Nature was not developed from Chinese juristic theory and practice.

On the whole, Dr. Needham's second volume has more than fulfilled the expectations raised by the first. The book is a boon in its sweeping, yet significantly detailed treatment of the development of scientific thought in China. Dr. Needham has traced the history of scientific advance in China with sound scholarship combined with deep and sympathetic understanding. He has utilised to the full all the materials available on the subject and drawn in most cases appropriate conclusions from them. The volume is somewhat hard reading, but the effort is most rewarding. When the other volumes in the series are completed, Dr. Needham's great work on China will certainly be acclaimed as the supreme achievement of European scholarship in the field of sinology.

K. P. PILLAY

THE KONGU COUNTRY—being the history of the modern districts of Coimbatore and Salem from the earliest times to the coming of the British by M. Arokiaswami, M.A., Ph.D., Reader in Indian History and Archaeology, University of Madras, 1956, Pages xvi and 420. Price Rs. 15/-, Madras University Historical Series, No. 22.

Prof. K. K. Pillay, the General Editor of the Series in which the volume appears, says in his Foreword: 'The history of Kongu Nāḍu has not yet received the systematic treatment it deserves. Dr. M. Arokiaswami has rendered a piece of valuable service by producing a systematic historical account of the region on the basis of original sources'. With this judgement the reader of the book will be inclined generally to agree. Political history is fully treated and equally good attention is given to administrative, social, religious, literary and economic developments. There are six illustrations of monuments and three maps.

For pre-history or pre-Sangam times as the author calls it, he depends mostly on rather old and nearly obsolete authors and has not fully availed himself of more recent work. In early history

too much rather uncritical reliance on the *Kongudēsārājākkal* seems to detract from the value of the narrative, though it must be pointed out that the author does make out at many points a *prima facie* case for the course he has adopted, particularly in relation to Ganga history. His identification of Perur of the Jaina legends on Ganga origins with Perur in Coimbatore in preference to Gangaperur in Cuddapah has much in its favour. The identification of Satyaputa with Kosar (p. 45), the placing of *Śilappadikāram* and *Maṇimekalai* in the second century A.D. (p. 46) without any discussion, the statement that Nandivarman Pallavamalla ended his reign in A.D. 775 are instances of the author's omission to take account of recent researches. Few will agree that Brahmin migration to the South became tangible only after the fourth century A.D. (p. 99), or that Ophir can be plausibly identified with Kongu (p. 76). The reference to Bühler's *Coorg Inscriptions* on p. 79 is intriguing, and the Bibliography contains no entry explaining it. There are many misspellings and the transliteration is often very faulty.

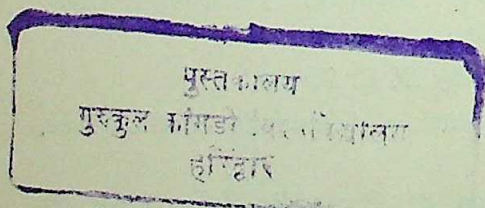
The volume is on the whole a welcome addition to the slowly growing literature of local history. The book is well produced.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

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Printed by G. Srinivasachari, B.A., at G. S. Press, 21, Narasingapuram Street,
Mount Road, Madras, and Published by K. P. Pillay, B.A. (Oxon).
University of Travancore, Trivandrum.

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सन्दर्भ ग्रन्थ
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1999-2000

